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USSR Report

MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1797

COMMUNIST OF THE ARMED FORCES

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27 September 1983

USSR REPORT
MILITARY AFFAIRS

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COMMUNIST OF THE ARMED FORCES

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language semi-monthly journal KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, No. 7, April 1983 (signed to press 21 Mar 1983) and No. 8, April 1983 (signed to press 4 April 1983).

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IDEOLOGICAL, MORAL BASES OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE DISCUSSED

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7, Apr 83 (signed to press 21 Mar 83) pp 8-16

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, Maj Gen A. Skryl'nik: "Ideological and Moral Bases of Military Discipline"; the article is recommended for use in the commander training system in studying the corresponding subject on the questions of military pedagogics and psychology.]

[Text] In life one often encounters a situation where two troop units are externally similar with neat military compounds, bright barracks and classrooms, the majority of men are of the same age, they have completed schools and undergone tempering in labor and military collectives. But if you spend some time in the units and look more closely, you will spot something "of their own" in the atmosphere established in each of them. As a rule, where the pace of exercises is precise and strict, where the daily routine has been well organized and the off hours are filled with interesting exercises, there is more exactingness and mutual respect in the relations between the servicemen, there, as they say, it is easier to serve and work and there are more successes.

In response to the decisions of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on increasing organization and discipline, the Soviet troops have set guidelines which encourage them to struggle for a further strengthening of ideological conditioning and moral maturity and the strictest observance of the laws of military service and the establishing of a healthy atmosphere in each collective. The requirements of the regulations and the moral standards, in being embodied in real thoughts and actions, make the service of the men strict, characterized by great exactingness and flawless efficiency and at the same time permeated with mutual respect and confidence and warmed by a feeling of comradeship and collectivism.

By the Imperative of Duty and the Laws of Discipline

In any army, discipline is designed to organize the men and to coordinate their actions in the interests of carrying out the common combat or training tasks. The reasons and methods of subordination to the procedures established in the given army are predetermined by the specific socioeconomic milieu, by the social system of the given state, by its politics and ideology which give content to the moral standards and requirements of the regulations.

The requirements of our regulations, like the moral standards, reflect the relationships of comradely collaboration and mutual aid among workers free of exploitation and among citizens of a developed socialist society. The relationships between the commanders and the rank-and-file, the superiors and subordinates, the seniors and juniors are developed on the basis of the unity of fundamental interests among all servicemen who come from the friendly classes of society and on the commonness of their political convictions and moral principles. Our laws reinforce in the army milieu the revolutionary victories of the workers and the changes in the social system which have occurred as a result of the construction of developed socialism in the country.

Soviet military discipline prescribes the strict observance of the USSR Constitution, the precise fulfillment of the requirements of the military oath and regulations and the commanders' orders, the steadfast enduring of all hardships and deprivations of military service and the sparing of neither blood nor life itself for carrying out military duty. Such categoricalness in no way contradicts the spirit of communist morality. The most humane in its essence, it proclaims the defense of socialism as the sacred duty of each citizen. For it the historical purpose of our military service and the strict observance of the regulations are the highest manifestation of justice and the good.

The general imperative of morality and its principles are translated into the language of daily affairs through the moral standards. A person for whom these standards have become the law of life does not order himself to act according to the regulations and morally but rather does this freely and naturally because he cannot act otherwise. In other words, it is a question not merely of conduct which externally conforms to the requirements of the regulations but rather the forming of an inner need to follow the letter and spirit of the regulations freely and without pressure from outside. Sociological research confirms the notion that a soldier who possesses high political and moral qualities under any situation acts energetically and in strict accord with the requirements of the oath and regulations. At the same time, more than 60 percent of the military personnel questioned who had disciplinary infractions were persons who were not always capable of fundamentally assessing their actions and their moral consequences.

The carrying out of moral standards cannot be ensured by an order or demand. Here the awareness of a person, his orderliness, moral strength and purity come into play.

Hence, two principles, the legal and the moral, merge in the very essence of Soviet military discipline. A serviceman is impelled to strictly and accurately carry out the requirements of the oath and regulations and the commanders' orders not out of any fear of punishment but rather out of an awareness of the social significance of these demands and a profound understanding of his personal responsibility for the motherland's security.

In life, understandably, it is difficult and at times simply impossible to separate a person's morality from his discipline. These are embodied in each undertaking and action. Full of profound meaning are the words of V. I. Lenin: "...For a communist, all morality lies in this united, solid discipline..." (PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 313).

did little to reflect the moral principles of discipline and the heroics of training actions and the valorous accomplishments of the men were not properly treated.

The other extreme is also encountered when the moral aspect of military discipline is absolutized. In such cases, an attempt is made to reduce everything to the voluntary nature of proper conduct and to subordination which excludes even moral compulsion.

Both viewpoints understandably impoverish the content of military discipline and hence its force and effectiveness. Only in a unity of the legal and moral aspects does it become a powerful factor for increasing the combat readiness of the troops and naval forces and for indoctrinating the personnel.

The common ideas and goals of the demands of the regulations and moral standards, however, do not lead to the "abolishing" of their specific features. The demands of the regulations, as is known, are prescribed by the state. The force of authority guards them. As for the moral standards, these develop in society in the process of human relationships. Their observance is monitored by public opinion and by the moral tempering of a person and his conscience.

The requirements of the regulations express more the legal element but this does not deprive them of a moral sense. They presuppose the unswerving execution by the serviceman regardless of what he feels about the demands themselves. Their strict observance can also be ensured by the inevitability of punishment. An order should be carried out precisely, unswervingly and on time and this is the law of army life.

When it is a question of standards of morality, including those reinforced in the regulations such as, for example, courtesy and respect for superiors, persons around and fellow servicemen, then the situation is somewhat more complex. You cannot ensure a feeling of respect by an order. Progressive commanders and political workers achieve this primarily by an organic combination of exactingness and concern for subordinates, by a benevolent attitude toward each of them, by a high level of personal conduct and by closeness to the men.

The Moral Foundations of Our Military Order

By the entire richness of its ideological and emotional content, communist morality contributes to the conscious fulfillment of official duties by the servicemen. No matter what task they carry out in training or in combat, ultimately their thoughts and feelings are permeated by high moral values, that is, by a loyalty to the cause of the Leninist party and the socialist fatherland and by a readiness to devote everything for the sake of its security and flourishing. During the years of the Great Patriotic War, the ideas of patriotism and internationalism and feelings corresponding to these ideas impelled millions of soldiers to carry out feats and they gave rise to mass heroism which became our glorious tradition. The men carried out these feats in being guided by firm ideological convictions and high moral motives.

Or let us take a rule which is not directly stated in our regulations but which is often followed in the Army and Navy: in a difficult moment, when special

The unity of the requirements of the regulations and moral standards is of a multileveled nature. This is determined, in the first place, by its common source, that is, the socialist social and state system. The laws of military service and moral standards are shaped under the directing effect of the Communist Party and its policy and ideology which reflect the fundamental vital interests of the workers, including the tasks in the area of defending the socialist fatherland. The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November (1982) Plenum of the Party Central Committee have further enriched the ideological and moral content of the demands of the laws on service by Army and Navy personnel under present-day conditions. They impel the personnel to master the weapons and military equipment and to evidence high vigilance under the difficult situation where military danger has increased sharply due to the fault of the reactionary circles of the United States and the other NATO countries.

Secondly, the discipline and morality of a serviceman are assessed according to a single criterion, that is, wholehearted service for the sake of the socialist fatherland. The deeds and actions of a serviceman correspond to the laws of military service and at the same time are moral when they are totally devoted to increasing military skills, to uniting the military collective and to turning the unit or ship into a smoothly-operating combat organism which is always ready for combat.

Thirdly, the requirements of our regulations and moral standards are united in their normative nature. They reflect the nature of our military service which, on the one hand, is the moral duty of the Soviet citizen and, on the other, his constitutional obligation.

Fourthly, the value and normative content of communist morality is reinforced in the requirements of the regulations. Its determining principle is dedication to the cause of communism and this is reinforced in the military oath. In front of his comrades a soldier voluntarily vows loyalty to his people, the Soviet motherland and the Soviet government and a readiness to dedicate all his energy and, if need be, his life for achieving full victory over the enemies.

The requirements of the regulations and the moral standards, thus, are organically interrelated. The former are "checked out" according to the high principles of the new society's morality while the latter operate as the inner incentives for patriotic deeds and the strict and precise observance of the regulations. Such a carrying out of duty and the provisions of the regulations by the soldier ensures the shaping of his discipline and the development of the personality of the citizen and armed defender of the motherland.

In life, sometimes extremes are resorted to in an interpreting of the complex dialectics of the two principles in our discipline. Often attention is excessively focused on its legal aspects and the content of discipline is reduced merely to obedience. For example, the rather extensive plan of mass agitation work devoted to the strengthening of military discipline in the subunits of one of the units of the Kiev Military District represented precisely such an anomaly. A majority of the measures outlined in it was aimed at explaining the responsibility and punishments for violating the laws and regulations. Here the visual agitation materials such as the special-subject stands and leaflets

will power, restraint and skill are needed, to turn to an awareness of duty and to the conscience of the servicemen. An officer, sergeant or soldier for whom the moral standards have become guidelines for life always acts with initiative and courage, with clarity and speed, as the regulations require. Life abounds in facts where servicemen have endeavored to do more than what is "officially" demanded, they assume increased socialist obligations and master two or three specialties.

Moral standards, in taking possession of a soldier's conscience and feelings, ensure disciplined conduct by their sanctions. A developed feeling of conscience is the most important of these inner regulators of discipline. Being an awareness of a soldier's responsibility for his conduct, it has not only a judgmental but also a motivating, imperative nature.

A developed feeling of conscience impels a person to carry out service duties most conscientiously. If this merely restrains a person from an amoral action, then this cannot be termed active. One can scarcely consider as active the conscience of those servicemen who, for instance, in setting the goals in the socialist competition, do not aim at the maximum possible indicators but rather limit themselves to average ones the achieving of which does not require a great effort. The so-called psychology of the "golden mean" checks the initiative and activeness of the competitors and harms the quality of combat training. It is alien to the very spirit of our morality which impels one to be ahead and never stop at the achieved level.

The moral forces of a serviceman gain completion and fullness when the carrying out of the regulations by them becomes a habit. It often happens that order is disrupted by a person who was considered completely aware. In such instances they say about him that he "stumbled." But why, actually, did he stumble? Is it not because he was not always accustomed to act as the regulations require under any circumstances and because a knowledge of the regulation had not reached his heart and had not become a matter of custom. A habit is a moral readiness and an ability without reflection to subordinate the personal to the social and in a critical situation to boldly face the danger and carry out the task.

Morality introduces a breadth of views into discipline and flexibility in elucidating the motives of human conduct. There are at least three types of incentive for the proper conduct of a serviceman. The first is awareness where a person without external impelling action works at full force and strictly carries out the disciplinary requirements. The second is the prospect of an additional acquisition of certain moral or material goods, commendations, leave for good service, a bonus, a promotion and so forth. The third type of incentive can be a fear of being punished for the violating of military order. Quite understandably, in each of these instances a moral assessment of the serviceman's conduct will vary and hence the indoctrinational effect on the men the deeds and actions of which is characterized by a varying level of their awareness cannot be the same.

In the arsenal of means for struggling for strong discipline, exceptionally effective are those forms of moral incentive such as the influence of the collective and public opinion. The more united the collective, the more developed

the feeling of comradeship and the more the relationships between the servicemen conform to the standards of morality, the greater the successes in carrying the tasks and the stronger the proper order.

The disciplinary requirements strictly outline the serviceman's obligations and his rights. They draw in a sort of framework for proper order conforming to the high calling of the armed defenders of the socialist fatherland. Outside this framework there usually develop relationships which are not officially regulated and based upon the mutual respect of the servicemen, on common interests in sports, amateur activities and so forth. Unfortunately, there are also instances when a soldier who has served a year or 18 months and mastered a specialty is not above demonstrating his superiority over the new man or even putting off a part of his duties on him. The manifestations of improper relationships in their majority are criticized. Those individual commanders and political workers who are inclined to consider these as somehow now worthy of attention are making a mistake. Any deviations from the moral relationships in the military collective can tell negatively on the level of discipline and the forming of a healthy moral atmosphere in the subunit.

Among the factors which cause improper relations, one should mention first of all the moral and psychological immaturity of individual soldiers. This prevents them from rising to an understanding of responsibility whereby the interests of the entire collective and not a separate group should be considered a guideline of conduct. At the same time, the appearance of deviations from the standards of our military community is also influenced by the low activity of the community and primarily for the communists and Komsomol members, as well as by violations of the requirements of the military regulations in organizing leisure and the daily routine of the men. Where firm order reigns in everything, where the commanders and political workers know the mood of the men and their inclinations well, where the party and Komsomol organizations are the supporters of discipline, usually there are no improper relations in the collective.

The communists, Komsomol members and leading soldiers are responsible for starting the flow of those streams which form a mighty river called social action. This is within the capacity of a close-knit military collective where strict implacability against disciplinary infractions and a severe comradely condemnation of them have become the rule.

Public opinion "works without interruption" and provides constant moral supervision over the conduct of all the members of the collective, their position in life and the facts and events of surrounding reality. This circumstance does not mean that the opinion of the collective in all instances of life is a ready-made prerequisite or support for the commander's exactingness.

Healthy, principled public opinion must be developed. Here much is determined by the ability to promptly put the urgent questions of combat readiness and the strengthening of discipline at the center of attention of the community, to see to it that the party and Komsomol meetings and assemblies of the personnel strictly assess the facts and work out a unanimous view on the questions of improving military order and indoctrination.

Deviations from principledness in assessing one's deeds and discrepancies between word and deed tell negatively on the force of public opinion and lead to negative consequences. In a letter to the editors, Pvt L. Fedotov stated, for example: "In our repair subunit at meetings a great deal is said about duty, honesty and the observance of proper order. But in practice we observe something else." Here the specialists have often been diverted from performing their basic duties to manufacturing all sorts of souvenirs as well as to repairing vehicles belonging to private individuals. Only after a check which made it possible to disclose serious abuses by individual officials was the subunit's community alerted to the preventing of analogous phenomenon and strengthening proper order.

The strength of public opinion consists in the fact that it assesses the actions and conduct of any member of the collective regardless of his title. In such an unwritten certification one can also spot certain conclusions, such as: "a demanding and considerate officer" and "a knowledgeable specialist" or, conversely, "he puts on airs" and "supercilious" and so forth. Whatever a serviceman may think of himself, the community usually defines his true merits.

Advancement for comrades who have merited this by their actions and conduct is always perceived by the community as just and highly moral. On the other hand, the promoting of a person who has a tarnished reputation but has the support of someone usually causes great moral harm to the collective. Such a discrepancy between public opinion and the official recommendation occurs obviously because some comrades are not accustomed to "having a look" at that unwritten certification which the collective "keeps" on the serviceman. For example, last year in the Moscow Military District more than 10 officers were promoted who were not ready for the new position.

At times, even a failure in elections to party and Komsomol bodies is not always grounds for reflection as to why an officer is not highly regarded. How has he deprived himself of his comrades' respect? What aspects in his training did the leader overlook but the collective spot?

The moral make-up of a worker is best judged by those who live and work with him. "The toiling mass," pointed out V. I. Lenin, "with great sensitivity catches the difference between honest and dedicated communists and those who inspire revulsion in a person who wins his bread with sweat on his face, a person who does not have any privileges or 'ways to the top'" (PSS, Vol 44, p 122).

In the interests of strengthening discipline, furthermore, active use is made of such a moral method as the personal example. This is rightly considered the most effective means for the moral indoctrination of the men.

The leader's personal example has a particularly strong impact on those around. From how demanding he is on himself and how honest he is in personal and official relations the men usually form a standard which they try to equal. His style of work becomes the model for the entire collective. Mar SU A. M. Vasilevskiy recalled his leader at the General Staff B. M. Shaposhnikov: "Restraint, politeness and tact in dealing with others, humility, discipline and maximum efficiency--these qualities of his were involuntarily passed on to

subordinates, instilling in them a feeling of responsibility for the assigned job, their own dignity and a high level of conduct."

"Our commander," "our deputy commander for political affairs"...the men say these words with pride, noting the accomplishments of their combat leaders and mentors. But the moral authority of an officer does not come with the position. It arises out of numerous elements. Here equally important are the officer's professional qualities, his political and cultural viewpoint, his ability to win over by humility, restraint and tact as well as how he behaves among comrades, off duty. Morality is broader in scope than just proper relations. It encompasses all aspects of a person's life, his work, conduct in daily routine, and his attitude toward society, the state, comrades, relatives and so forth.

From the viewpoint of morality, individual indicators, even those such as the performing of official duties (the main thing in the life of a Soviet soldier) do not give one the right to judge his make-up as a whole. It does happen that externally everything seems to be going well, the officer is handling the job, but the person's soul is already touched with rot.

If no one notices the "trifle" and is not stirred to help the comrade in time, a misfortune can happen. This occurs when indulgence arises instead of strict condemnation, principled criticism and a sharp judgment of the improper action and a decisive struggle against any violations of the standards of our life.

Thus, moral standards in their content and by their moral sanctions ensure the effectiveness of the requirements of the regulations and serve to strengthen discipline. Honor where honor is due. The party has drawn attention to the fact that poor work, indifference and irresponsibility should be most directly felt also in material remuneration, in official position and in the moral authority of a worker. This is done because abnormal phenomena are particularly intolerable in a society of mature socialism and they run contrary to the moral underpinnings of our entire life.

The Rights of the Regulations--A Delicate Instrument of Moral Indoctrination

The increased demands of the party on the combat readiness of the Army and Navy and the need to achieve higher indicators in training have caused the commanders, political bodies and party organizations to increase their activities in strengthening military order. Here much is determined by the ability to use legal and moral levers in work.

The demands of the oath and the regulations in the army have priority among the other incentives. Their strict fulfillment is the most important indicators of the men's morality and effective factor in indoctrination.

The moral effect of discipline is realized daily in all service, in the daily routine and life of the men. A soldier spends all his service time in the company, battery or military unit. These elements of the Army and Navy organism are rightly viewed as the center of party political work. The active propagandizing of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress explaining the demands of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the documents of the ceremony held in the Kremlin devoted to the 60th anniversary of the formation

of the USSR, the studying of the oath and regulations directly help to raise the awareness of the men. A unity of ideological and organizational work, of word and deed is the most important way to strengthen discipline and to increase its indoctrinational effect.

The Soviet solely-responsible commander bears all responsibility for the combat and mobilizational readiness of the unit. He has been granted great rights, including the right to demand from subordinates exemplary performance of service duties, tenacity, industry, steadfastness and courage.

The commander's exactingness crowns army order and cements discipline. It is an indoctrinational factor when it is carried out consistently and steadily, regardless of any attendant circumstances. Inconsistency in making demands on the personnel tells perniciously on the service and moods of the men. Any dishonesty in assessing the state of discipline and any deviations from the regulation of "not leaving a single misdeed of a subordinate without action" are acutely felt in the collective.

The moral strength of a commander's exactingness lies in its justness and in to what degree it conforms to the tasks of maintaining the troops in combat readiness and the spirit of communist morality. Any manifestations of coarseness, a lack of tact or belittling the dignity of an individual are alien to it. Unfortunately, still frequently individual officers find it unable to dispense with loud voices and at times insulting expressions which not only do not help to strengthen discipline but, conversely, disrupt order and impede things.

The requirements of the regulations and the standards of morality become a permanent part of the conscience and conduct of the men when socialist legality is strictly observed. Any order or instruction from a commander or superior on organizing the training and daily routine of the troops should be legal, that is, conform to the interests of the motherland and to the strengthening of the combat readiness of our Armed Forces and stem from the duties of the servicemen.

Socialist legality is the observance and fulfillment of legal standards. In terms of its scope it is narrower than discipline which presupposes the fulfilling of both legal and moral standards.

The deviating from socialist legality harms service and indoctrination. It is easy to imagine the consequences which resulted from the order of the commander of one of the military construction detachments of Maj V. Sherman, that is, to collect money from the military construction workers to make them pay for the lack of dishes. To resort to such extortion in the aim of concealing one's own disorganization and negligence means to act both illegally and immorally.

In the rich arsenal of the commander's indoctrinational means an important place is held by measures of commendation and punishment. Disciplinary practices are a delicate instrument for strengthening military order and for improving moral relationships in the collective.

Each commander or superior within the limits of the rights granted by the Disciplinary Regulations must commend subordinates for reasonable initiative,

industry, feats and excellence in service. Here the regulations lack direct recommendations as to what type of commendation should be employed in each specific instance. In the same manner there also is no list of misdeeds for which certain reprimands should be imposed on the guilty parties. The officer himself within his powers determines what type of commendation for an outstanding soldier or what degree of punishment for a guilty one should, in his opinion, have a maximum indoctrinational impact both on the specific person as well as on the entire troop collective.

In speaking about the commander's disciplinary practices, we would like to emphasize the validity of the notion that "he indoctrinates justness." The commendations and reprimands themselves do not effect the inner world of a person or the collective but rather to what degree the disciplinary measures are justified. In commending a subordinate, the commander as it were determines his place in the collective, he encourages his conduct and induces others to act the same way. At the same time he shows the soldier that his efforts are seen and they are satisfied with his results.

Likewise a disciplinary reprimand has an indoctrinational effect only when it is applied strictly in accord with the demands of the military regulations. Any "shying" reduces the effectiveness of disciplinary practice. The leading commanders usually thoroughly analyze the misconduct of a serviceman and circumspectly determine the degree of punishment within the rights granted them. For example, on the missile cruiser "Vladivostok," among the officer personnel the rule followed by the commander in his disciplinary practices has become generally accepted, that is: "strictness does not equal the number of reprimands." Here with good reason the ship officers pay particular attention to preventing disciplinary infractions.

The disciplinary practices of a Soviet commander are based upon the requirements of the laws of military service, on the rights of the regulations and in determining the "necessity" of one or another decision or the advisability of one or another measure, on the state approach to the question and on one's conscience. Only such an embodiment of disciplinary practices makes them an effective means for uniting the collective and for establishing a healthy moral climate in the unit or subunit.

"Not out of fear but out of conscience to fulfill all the laws concerning the Red Army and the orders, to maintain discipline in every possible way in it..." this admonishment by Lenin impels us to use the force of the demands of the regulations and the commands of our moral standards in the training and indoctrination of the personnel. This is one of the way for further increasing organization and proper order and for improving the combat readiness of the Army and Navy.

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OUTLINE LECTURE ON OBSERVATION OF LAWS, MILITARY OATH, MILITARY REGULATIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7, Apr 83 (signed to press 21 Mar 83) pp 74-80

[Article by Maj G. Petrenko: "To Strictly Observe Soviet Laws, the Military Oath and Regulations of the Armed Forces"*)]

[Text] This is the second subject recommended for study by the soldiers and sailors during the summer training period. The exercise for it should be conducted by the method of lecture and a lively, full-scale discussion.

Six hours are planned for studying the subject. The assigned time should be allocated thus: 2 hours for the lecture, 2 for independent work and 2 for a group discussion.

In the lecture on the subject, the attention of the listeners should be focused on the following basic questions: 1. V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on socialist legality and law and order. 2. To firmly know and unswervingly fulfill the demands of the Soviet laws, the oath and regulations and to be a disciplined soldier.

In the course of laying out the material, the propagandists should help the men in more fully understanding the legacy of V. I. Lenin and the Instructions of the Communist Party on the need to constantly improve socialist legality and lawfulness as well as the strict and precise observance of Soviet laws by each Soviet citizen. In the exercise the soldiers and sailors should be made profoundly aware of the sense and content of military discipline and its basic demands on the servicemen. It is essential to describe what an important role is played by the Army and Navy community in further strengthening order and organization in the subunits, units and ships and explain the system of commendations and reprimands employed in the Armed Forces.

* The material is to be used for political exercises on the subject "The Strict Observance of Soviet Laws, the Military Oath and Regulations of the Armed Forces--A Most Important Condition for Maintaining Strong Military Discipline and Law and Order."

In the introduction to the subject, it is essential to point out that recently, due to the reactionary imperialist forces, and primarily the United States and a number of other NATO countries, the situation in the world has become sharply more acute. This has forced the CPSU and the Soviet government in their policy to unswervingly combine consistent peacefulness with a constant readiness to decisively and firmly rebuff any aggressor and to be concerned for further strengthening the defense capability of our state and improve the combat potential of its Armed Forces. Due to the daily attention from the party and the people, our Army and Navy in terms of technical equipping, organizational structure and the system of command and support are presently on a level which fully conform to the demands of the times.

In competing under the motto "To Raise Vigilance and to Securely Ensure the Safety of the Motherland!" the Soviet military, rallied closely around the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee, are constantly honing their military skill and are stubbornly working to achieve what is necessary for victory in modern warfare. Daily troop practices teach us that an indispensable condition and guarantee for stable achievements by the personnel in combat and political training is the unswerving observance of socialist legality and lawfulness by all categories of servicemen and the scrupulous fulfillment of the requirements of the military oath and regulations and their own immediate official duties. In endeavoring in large and small matter to always act in strict accord with the letter and spirit of the legislative prescripts of Army and Navy life, the soldiers and sailors thereby make a weighty personal contribution to further strengthening discipline and organization in the subunits, units and ships and to the cause of the greatest possible rise in the vigilance and combat readiness of the troops and naval forces.

1. V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on Socialist Legality and Lawfulness

Initially it is advisable to recall to the students how highly V. I. Lenin valued socialist legality and lawfulness in our society's life. Lenin saw in the Soviet laws an important means for successfully carrying out all the economic, cultural and defense tasks.

In actuality, our laws, in expressing the will and fundamental aims of the people in their struggle for communism, securely protect the socialist social and state system, the socialist economy and socialist property, the interests of the enterprises, institutions, kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other organizations against any encroachments. These reinforce party policy, including in the area of national defense, and the concern of the state for the specific man, the rights, freedoms and dignity of the individual.

Thus, legality serves the cause of communist construction, the further strengthening of USSR economic might, the improving of its defense capability and the raising of the workers' standard of living. In pointing to such a content of legality, V. I. Lenin emphasized that the law is a political measure, it is a policy (see PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 30, p 99).

Further, it is essential to point out that V. I. Lenin not only defined the role of legality in building communism but also disclosed its essence, the basic demands on it, and showed the way for securely ensuring and strengthening as much

as possible the legal basis of Soviet society. Widely known is Lenin's statement that the slightest illegality, the smallest violation of Soviet order is already a hole which would immediately be used by the enemies of the workers (see PSS, Vol 39, p 156). These inspired words by the leader and founder of our party and state vividly characterize his attitude toward socialist legality and lawfulness in the nation.

It must be particularly emphasized that V. I. Lenin not only demanded from others the unswerving observance of the laws and precepts of Soviet power but also personally set an example of a profoundly respectful attitude toward its legislative enactments. Even insignificant attempts to avoid and particularly to ignore the law by anyone always evoked in Lenin a sharp condemnation and often led to decisive organizational measures against the guilty party.

In confirmation of this, one can give the following example. Once the secretary of the Sovnarkom [Council of People's Commissars], L. A. Fotiyeva, turned to V. I. Lenin with the request to hire a new co-worker who had been recommended by a number of co-workers from the Managing Department of the Sovnarkom. However, V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich who headed the Managing Department of the Sovnarkom was against such hiring, in referring to the decree "On the Inadmissibility of the Joint Work of Relatives in Soviet Institutions" (it turned out that the sister of the recommended person was already employed in the Sovnarkom). In endeavoring to resolve the arising situation, L. A. Fotiyeva wrote to V. I. Lenin in a note: "A very valuable worker and we are interested in having her.... Cannot the decree be bypassed?" But V. I. Lenin replied categorically: "The decree cannot be bypassed: for such a proposal they would prosecute" (PSS, Vol 50, p 266).

Literally from the first days of the existence of the young socialist state, Lenin with his apparent energy and tenacity posed the question of creating the strictest and truly revolutionary lawfulness in the nation. Upon the initiative and with the direct participation of V. I. Lenin, the most important legislative documents of those times were worked out and ratified, including the first Soviet Constitution, the first laws, codes and decrees of Soviet power. The measured words of these documents reinforced the new system of social relations born by Great October. It was a system which became the symbol of true humanism, justice and concern for the working man.

In continuing his lecture, the propagandist should draw the attention of the listeners to the fact that the CPSU, in being guided by Lenin's instructions on socialist legality and lawfulness in the country, gives exceptionally important significance to the further strengthening of the legal basis of life in Soviet society, to the all-round improving of socialist legality and to the bringing of the legal standards into full conformity with the level achieved by the Soviet state of all the people in the stage of developed socialism. Here the party proceeds from the fact that the successful construction of communism is impossible without mobilizing the will and efforts of all the workers, without the highest level of organization and discipline in all elements of our managerial apparatus and the economic mechanism as a whole, without the strictest subordination of each and every one to the single statewide order.

It is essential to particularly emphasize the notion that the Soviet Union once and for all has put an end to the fundamental social causes of antisocial phenomena, that is, private property, the exploitation of man by man, national suppression, unemployment, poverty, hunger and the ignorance of the masses. Thus, real conditions have been created for completely eliminating any forms of violations of the law from our reality. Here active, purposeful efforts by our state and all the public are still essential for we can effectively combat violations of the law and other antisocial phenomena only by working together. Only when the force of public opinion is multiplied by the force of the law, when each Soviet person has developed his own corresponding level of awareness of the law will an insurmountable barrier arise on the path of illegal actions and they will become simply impossible.

Under the conditions of developed socialism where our economy, science and culture have reached a qualitative new level, it is essential to raise the entire system of legality to a higher degree, that is, not only have well-thought-out and weighed laws, but also to achieve their ubiquitous and unconditional fulfillment. Here it is advisable to emphasize that the predominant majority of Soviet people live and work in strict accord with the demands placed on them. It is completely understandable that the unfortunately still encountered disrupters of production, the hooligans, drunks, speculators, bribe takers and quanderers of socialist property arouse profound indignation in the Soviet citizens.

Considering public opinion which requires a decisively stronger struggle against infractions of the law as well as proceeding from the tasks of further strengthening lawfulness in the nation, recently a number of measures have been adopted aimed at improving Soviet legislation. At the same time work is being continued on the greatest possible development of our democratic institutions and on broadening civil rights and guarantees for their observance. The Soviet people, in perceiving the state and social interests as their own vital concern, have made a number of valuable proposals to the specific draft laws. For example, precisely upon worker initiative, new legal enactments have appeared establishing responsibility for the violating of Soviet trade rules as well as for receiving illegal remuneration from citizens on the part of representatives in the service sphere.

On the basis of the decisions of the May and November (1982) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the normative documents concerned with state, economic and cultural construction in the nation are presently being adjusted. The struggle for an ubiquitous strengthening of discipline is assuming a truly nationwide nature. The necessity of such a consistent and uncompromising struggle has been dictated by life itself. Because, as was pointed out by the General Secretary of our party's Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, at a meeting with the Moscow machine tool builders, without proper discipline--labor, planning and state--we cannot make rapid progress. The imposing of order does not require any capital investments but the effect is enormous. An idler, absentee or shoddy worker harms not so much himself as the collective and all society as a whole. The workers are in favor of increasing the demands imposed on such people. At the same time, they are also in favor of increasing the responsibility of officials who connive with the violators.

As was pointed out at the 26th Party Congress, we have adopted many good laws. At present, it is primarily a question of their accurate and unswerving realization. Certainly any law lives only when it is carried out and carried out by everyone and everywhere (see "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], p 64). In order to achieve the full realization of this congress instruction, our state has dependable levers in the form of the soviets, the law protection bodies, people's control and various social organizations. However, it would be wrong to link the greater struggle against the violations of the law to just a hardening of sanctions against those who commit these. Life shows that the strength of punishment is primarily in its inevitability. The main thing is to achieve a strict individualization of responsibility within legality, when each violator will inexorably expect corresponding punishment for the misdeed.

The conscious and precise observance of the laws of our socialist state of all the people is proof of the political and moral maturity of each individual citizen as well as society as a whole. In this regard the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that we have much work to do in further improving the Soviet way of life and in eradicating everything that impedes the formation of the new man. The all-round development of the system of Soviet legislation and the improved activities of the law protecting bodies are also aimed at carrying out this important and complex task.

Our socialist legality fundamentally differs from bourgeois legality. At one time V. I. Lenin pointed out that in no nation was there such an abundance of laws as in Tsarist Russia. However, as Lenin particularly pointed out, nothing similar to legality existed here. And one can understand why as all the laws of the bourgeois-landowner system were directed against the working masses and served as a weapon for protecting the class interests of the property-owning groups. A similar situation presently exists in the imperialist nations, where the law is the faithful servant of monopolistic capital and the monstrous arbitrariness of the moneybags directed against the millions and millions of workers is a characteristic trait of the bourgeois way of life. In this context all the loud words by the apologists of capitalism on "human rights" become unpardonably false. These have never existed and do not exist in the "notorious free world" which is free of one thing, of true individual liberties and the elementary rights for working people. "The given thesis should be confirmed by referring to facts published in the periodic press and those particularly which show the amorality and inhumanity of capitalist society and its flagrant flaws and ulcers. It is best to do this using examples which emphasize the omnipotence of the monopolies and the lack of rights of the working man, the antipopular, antihuman essence of bourgeois legality. Such examples are found in articles published by the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE under the heading "Capitalism Stands Accused."

In contrast to bourgeois legality, socialist legality securely protects the fundamental interests of our people and state as a whole against any encroachments on them by whomever. At the exercise this must also be described drawing upon factual material taken from periodicals or directly from life, with reference to the USSR Constitutions.

The decisions of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 7th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 9th Sitting, were a new manifestation of the party's constant concern for further strengthening the nation's economic and defense might, for raising the prosperity of the people and for the all-round development of socialist democracy and a continuous enhancement of the legal basis for Soviet society. These reflected the most urgent problems of our economic and cultural construction and with all acuteness and principledness raise the problem of strengthening the responsibility of the citizens, the officials, the state bodies and social organizations for the strict and precise observance of legality, order and discipline.

In the course of the discussion on the given section of the subject, the listeners can be asked the following questions: 1. What were the basic views of V. I. Lenin on socialist legality and lawfulness? 2. Why do the CPSU and the Soviet government show constant concern for the greatest possible strengthening of the legal basis for our social life? 3. What is the fundamental distinction of socialist legality from bourgeois? 4. Why must one be intolerant of persons who violate socialist lawfulness? 5. What in practice does the demand mean of strictly observing Soviet laws and being intolerant of those who endeavor to violate them?

2. To Firmly Know and Unswervingly Fulfill the Demands of Soviet Laws, the Oath and Regulations, to be a Disciplined Soldier

In beginning to take up the second question of the subject, it is advisable to emphasize that socialist legality comprises the juridical basis for the legal regulation of military organizational development. Our general state and military legislation in its essence and in its fundamental aims and principles is the same. This is completely understandable for Soviet military organizational development is organically linked to communist construction as a whole and is subordinate to it.

At the same time, military legislation has inherent to it its own characteristic features. This is explained by the specific nature of the armed defense of the socialist fatherland, by its exceptional importance and complexity, by the very rigid demands of military discipline and the particular features of Army (Navy) service and by the necessity of strictest one-man leadership and centralism in troop control and command.

Considering the listed factors, special legal enactments are issued which define law and order in the Army and Navy. Among these we would put first of all the Law on Universal Military Service and the Law on Criminal Liability for Military Crimes, the regulations on military service and the procedure for taking the military oath, the military oath itself, as well as the regulations, manuals, instructions and orders of the USSR Minister of Defense.

One must then point out that our nation's workers and the men of the Army and Navy have always view and do view the defense of the revolutionary victories of Great October as their primary task. This has been reflected in legislation in the USSR Constitution. This states that the defense of the socialist fatherland is the sacred duty of each Soviet citizen and military service is an honorable obligation for the Soviet citizens.

In order to best carry out this most important constitutional task, each soldier should first of all strictly and precisely observe the order and rules established by the Soviet laws and military regulations and unswervingly obey the commanders and superiors. The unconditional fulfillment of the given demand is an unbreakable law in Army and Navy service to which there should be no exceptions. For precise military law and order is formed precisely as a result of the most scrupulous fulfillment of Soviet legislation by each soldier in the subunits, units and ships. Without such law and order, correct relationships between the servicemen and a high level of discipline and combat readiness are inconceivable.

In the exercise it is important to point out that all the basic questions concerning Army and Navy service have been set out in the Law Governing Universal Military Service as well as in the corresponding regulation for this. This law defines and the regulation concretizes the principles and procedures for manning the USSR Armed Forces, for preparing the youth for military service, for conducting inductions, undergoing service, discharge into the reserves and service in the reserves. The given documents, in addition, establish the duties, rights and responsibilities of the servicemen and those liable to military service as well as the benefits extended to them.

In turning to the text of the law and regulation described here, it is essential in an accessible and popular manner to explain the basic demands placed on the soldiers and sailors by Army and Navy service, to recall that such high demands derive from the necessity of the greatest possible rise in the nation's defense might and the combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces and to focus the men on the unconditional fulfillment of these demands. (The propagandist can be helped in better preparing for this problem by using the article "The Procedure for Undergoing Military Service. The USSR Law Governing Universal Military Service" published in KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, No 16, 1982.)

After this, one must move on to describing what a great role is played by the military oath in the life of each serviceman. Here it is wise to emphasize that the oath is a solemn vow of loyalty by the men to the Soviet fatherland. The demands of the oath, and in the course of the exercise it is desirable to take them up in as much detail as possible, contain the highest patriotic sense and are permeated with the inspiration of the unceasing struggle for the sacred interests of our multinational socialist fatherland.

In referring to the regulation on the procedure for taking the military oath, it is essential to describe to the listeners how this ritual is performed and to remind them that the taken oath becomes the main impelling motive which defines the activities of each serviceman. Here, one should particularly accentuate the fact that the military oath serves as an inexhaustible source of spiritual strength and fortitude for the motherland's defenders and inspires and leads them to a feat in the name of communism. (It is possible to read more thoroughly about this in the article "The Military Oath--The Soldier's Vow of Loyalty to the Motherland" published in the journal KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, No 16, 1982.)

Then it is advisable to emphasize that the demand of the strictest observance by all servicemen of the legality and lawfulness established in the Army and Navy, in addition to the listed documents, is also stated in the troop manuals. The unswerving following of their provisions is an inseparable component in the overall task of scrupulously observing the Soviet laws by each Soviet citizen. This is completely understandable for our manuals are a legislative compendium determining all the life, routine and activities of the troops.

In the course of setting forth the material, it is desirable, first of all, to tell the listeners about the nature and purpose of the general troop and combat regulations of the Soviet Armed Forces (in the political exercise groups with sailors, in addition, it is essential to describe the USSR Naval Regulations) and to take up the basic requirements in the regulations placed on the motherland's defender. Then, in following the provisions of Articles 1-5 and 139 of the Internal Service Regulation and Article 25 of the Drill Regulations, it is essential to describe the general obligations of the servicemen as well as the duties of a soldier and sailor, including before formation and in the ranks.

After this, it is important to draw the listeners' attention to the notion that the content of the Soviet military regulations conforms fully to the interests of our state and all the people, and hence, to each soldier. They are permeated by the idea of the most profound personal responsibility of the servicemen for the secure defense of the socialist fatherland and for the unfailing fulfillment of their military duty to the motherland. One must then point to the exceptionally great significance of the strictest observance of the provisions of the regulations by the servicemen in establishing and maintaining firm proper order in the troops. In this context it is wise to explain to the listeners what is understood by proper order. The given concept is broad and multifaceted. However, some are inclined to identify proper order with internal order in the barracks and external smartness in the unit. This is far from the case. Proper order presupposes the exemplary standing of alert duty, guard duty and internal service. It includes an accurate organization of military and political training, the operation and safekeeping of equipment. Proper order presupposes correct relationships among the servicemen strict observance of the daily routine and reasonable organization of the personnel's leisure and their high, aware discipline.

Thus, it is difficult to overestimate the role and importance of the regulations for the troops. Whatever aspect of the life and activities of the servicemen we touch upon, they are all regulated in detail by the standards of the regulations. The regulations inject particular clarity and coordination into this life and activities and without this it would be impossible to ensure proper military order, a high level of organization and discipline in all elements of the Army and Navy organism and the constant combat readiness of the troops and naval forces. The demands of the regulations are obligatory for execution by the men regardless of where they are at one or another moment, in the ranks or off duty, in the subunit, unit or ship or away from them. We should see to it, the USSR Minister of Defense, Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, points out, that the position in life of every serviceman is determined by the conviction that the regulations and orders are a law which must be carried out by everyone without exception, unswervingly and unfailingly!

In this regard it is essential to emphasize that the successful fulfillment of the requirements of the regulations depends largely upon to what degree the soldier or sailor is possessed by a feeling of personal responsibility for the state of affairs in his troop collective and for the state of order and discipline in it. Our military discipline is primarily a political, moral category. It is based upon the ideological conviction of the men and the spiritual maturity of the Army and Navy collectives. This is why, in being concerned with indoctrinating the servicemen in a spirit of high discipline and efficiency, it is essential first of all to strengthen precisely the given foundation.

Furthermore, it is essential, in following Articles 1-5 of the Disciplinary Regulations, to disclose the essence and content of military discipline, to explain on what it is based and how it is achieved as well as what demands it places on the servicemen. Here particular attention should be focused on the fact that without discipline there can be no combat readiness. This is an axiom. It has long been known, since armies first arose. Its truthfulness has been tested by history.

But while the role of discipline has always been great in the past, it has now grown many-fold. In the age of nuclear weapons, of the enormous scope, dynamism and complexity of military operations and the unprecedented significance of the morale factor, the slightest nonobservance of the demands of military discipline can lead to the most grievous consequences. This is why at present even individual manifestations of laxness and lack of discipline are completely unacceptable. For strong military discipline and firm proper order are the crucial conditions for the personnel to receive stable results in combat training and service and in further improving the combat readiness of the subunits, units and ships. "The concept of discipline," the USSR Minister of Defense, Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, has pointed out, "is an exceptionally vast one in the Armed Forces. This is both the unswerving observance of the demands of the laws, regulations and orders, the unconditional fulfillment of the plans and programs for military and political training, the exercise schedule, the daily regimen, as well as well organized troop service and firm troop order. It is important that each serviceman in the future increases his personal responsibility for the irreproachable execution of service duties and constantly works to get free of shortcomings."

The main thing in military discipline is profoundly felt efficiency and obedience. It must always be remembered that our commanders have been granted the highest confidence of the Soviet state. Being solely responsible leaders, they bear personal responsibility to the party and the people for the state of the personnel's military and political training and for the successful fulfillment of the combat training tasks by the subunits, units and ships entrusted to them. Consequently, a commander (superior) has not only great rights but also enormous obligations to society. This is why his order is a command of the motherland on behalf of which he is acting. "The order of a commander (superior)," state the Disciplinary Regulations, "is a law for subordinates. The order should be carried out without question, precisely and on time." This demand of the regulations is an inviolable law for Army and Navy service.

In setting out the material on the given question, particular attention must be paid to making each listener profoundly aware of the role and significance of correct relationships between the servicemen for further strengthening discipline and organization in the subunits, and ships. These relations are founded on the unswerving observance of the regulations by all the men as well as the requirements of the moral code of a builder of communism. They are relationships of complete trust and mutual understanding, mutual respect and exactingness, friendship and comradeship, mutual support, aid and assistance. Such relations unite the military collectives and form in them a healthy moral climate and an atmosphere of intolerance for the violators of military discipline. Here it is essential to point out that true troop comradeship has nothing in common with a false understanding of friendship where the bad deeds of fellow servicemen are concealed under the pretext of friendship or with the incorrect relations among the men where the soldiers and sailors of the earlier induction dates demand for themselves unauthorized advantages or endeavor to shift a portion of their own obligations to the shoulders of others.

A decisive struggle must be waged against such instances, like all other violations of discipline and order. Here, along with the commanders and political workers, the first word should belong to our Army and Navy community. In this regard it is important to see to it that each soldier and sailor not only profoundly knows and unswervingly observes the Soviet laws and military regulations and serves as an example in carrying out military duty but also fights actively against any manifestations of laxness and indifference and unites his troop collective.

Personally involved, personally responsible--this now should become the slogan for each Komsomol member and each soldier and sailor in establishing discipline and order in his subunit, unit or ship. Here all the authority and all the strength of public opinion should be aimed at developing in the servicemen the habits of strictly and precisely fulfilling the demands of the oath, the regulations and the orders of the commanders and chiefs and at eradicating any forms of infractions and disciplinary violations in our Army and Navy environment. (This is described in greater detail in the article "High Military Discipline--A Most Important Condition for Combat Capability and Constant Combat Readiness of the Troops" published in KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, No 7, 1982.)

Furthermore, it is advisable to emphasize that in their majority our men serve conscientiously, they are disciplined and efficient. The efforts of the personnel to achieve an understanding of military affairs, to further strengthen military discipline and increase combat readiness have been properly assessed by the commanders and superiors. The Disciplinary Regulations of the USSR Armed Forces in this regard grant them the corresponding rights. In referring to Article 22 of the current regulations, it is essential to list the commendations extended to the soldiers and sailors, to describe those men who have been repeatedly commended by the command, to show their service cards to the listeners and to comment on them. Here it is important to point out that the successes of the designated men are based on their high discipline and conscientious attitude toward their duties.

At the same time, during the exercise it is essential to point out that the interests of defending the motherland oblige the commanders and superiors to

demand decisively and firmly the observance of military discipline and order and not to leave unchecked a single infraction by a subordinate. As is known, the main method of indoctrinating the Soviet military is persuasion. However, this not only does not exclude but, on the contrary, presupposes the use of compulsory measures against those servicemen who are negligent in carrying out their military duty and endeavor to live contrary to the requirements of the regulations. In explaining the given notion it is advisable for the propagandist to refer to Article 48 of the Disciplinary Regulations and list the reprimands applied to soldiers and sailors. If among the group's listeners there are persons who in the recent past were punished by the commanders for their disciplinary infractions, they must be particularly mentioned at the exercise. Here it is important to focus the efforts of the Komsomol aktiv and the group at decisively combating violations of discipline and order in the subunit, unit or ship.

Aside from disciplinary liability, the servicemen who have committed infractions of the legal standards regulating the procedures of military service can also be held materially or criminally liable. In describing the material liability of servicemen, it is essential to refer to the appropriate regulation governing this and explain to the men the grounds and procedures for instituting liability for losses caused to the state.

It is then essential to emphasize that in those instances when the violations of military discipline and lawfulness are particularly dangerous, the servicemen can be held criminally liable. The list of crimes against service procedures is contained in the Law Governing Criminal Liability for Military Crimes. This list must be read and explained at the exercise.

To establish in each military collective discipline which is not feigned but rather highly felt and hence truly strong and to ensure strict proper order and the exemplariness of all soldiers and sailors without exception in carrying out military duty--this is how the question stands now. To make one's worthy contribution to solving this is a matter of honor and the task of tasks for each soldier and our entire Army and Navy community. In this manner, the appropriate contribution will also be made to further raising the combat readiness of the subunits, the units and ships and the Armed Forces as a whole to decisively defeat any aggressor who dares to attack our great motherland, its friends and allies.

In the discussion of the given section of the subject, it is desirable to pose the following questions for the group: 1. Why should the soldiers constantly observe the requirements of the Soviet laws, the oath and the regulations? 2. Why is strict proper order essential in the Army and Navy and how is this achieved? 3. What role does military discipline play in the life of the Army and Navy? 4. What are the basic demands of Soviet military discipline placed on a serviceman? 5. What responsibility do soldiers and sailors bear for infractions of order and the rules of military service? 6. What is the importance of the Army and Navy troop collectives in providing help to the commanders and political workers in strengthening discipline and order among the personnel?

During the independent work, it is advisable to recommend that the listeners study the works of V. I. Lenin "Letter to the Workers and Peasants on the Occasion of the Victory Over Kolchak" (PSS, Vol 39, pp 151-159); "Speech at a Broad Worker Red Army Conference in Rogozhsko-Simonovskiy Rayon on 13 May 1920" (PSS, Vol 41, pp 120-121); the Constitution (Basic Law) of the USSR (Articles 31, 32, 59-65); "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" (pp 63-66); the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on 22 November 1982 (PRAVDA, 23 November 1982); the report of the USSR Minister of Defense, Mar SU D. F. Ustinov at the 6th All-Army Conference of Primary Party Organization Secretaries (KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, No 11, 1982); "Disciplinary Regulations of the USSR Armed Forces" (Articles 1-9, 43-51).

Literature for Propagandists

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COMMENTARY ON WESTERN 'CRUSADE AGAINST SOCIALISM'

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 7, Apr 83 (signed to press 21 Mar 83) pp 81-86

[Article by Yu. Nalin: "Under the Black Standards of 'Crusaders'"]

[Text] The fierce counterattacks being undertaken by the militant circles of the imperialist powers, primarily the United States, against peace and detente are assuming an evermore dangerous nature. The White House decisions aimed at a further arms race, the approval of militaristic preparations of the North Atlantic Alliance by the December (1982) Session of the NATO Council, the forcing of measures related to the deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe and the intensification of the conventional arms race--all of this shows the intention of the imperialist strategists to continue the adventuristic policy of exacerbating the international situation and even more intense preparations for war.

The Washington politicians and strategists have openly announced their desire by any means to achieve military supremacy of the United States over the Soviet Union and NATO over the Warsaw Pact in order to then impose their will on the socialist world "from a position of strength." The Reagan Administration has declared its intention to adapt the entire world to the needs of U.S. monopolistic capital and has advanced imperialistic claims in a spirit of the worst examples of previous times.

The initiating of the "crusade" announced by Reagan against communism has been characterized by an unprecedented increase in the activities of the subversive ideological services and centers of imperialism. This has actually assumed the nature of "psychological warfare" against the USSR, the entire socialist commonwealth and against the communist and workers parties. Here one can more clearly and more fully see the direct link between the practical steps of the ruling circles in the United States and the other NATO countries aimed at exacerbating the situation in the world and those tasks which Western Propaganda has posed for itself to justify and "establish" the aggressive policy of imperialism. There is a close unity in the elements of the "crusade" by the imperialist reaction against communism in the area of ideology and propaganda and the anti-Soviet, antisocialist actions in the political, economic, financial and military areas.

The fear of real socialism and its growing influence on the course of world events has forced the imperialist bourgeoisie and its hirelings to resort to the dirtiest methods of "psychological warfare" including ideological subversion, flagrant lies, falsification, the dissemination of inflammatory materials, outright provocations, political misinformation and refined methods for demoralizing people.

In the unfavorable situation for the capitalist world of a deepening economic, ideological and political crisis, the advocates of imperialism have endeavored primarily to weaken the influence of communist ideology, the peace-loving Soviet foreign policy and the historical successes of the USSR and the other socialist states in socioeconomic development on millions of people. Our ideological opponents have hurriedly updated and revised many obsolete postulates of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism in order to adapt them to today. New areas are being developed in subversive ideological activities. The "psychological warfare" apparatus is being fleshed out. The West, as was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is putting to work an entire system of means designed to undermine the socialist world and to weaken it.... Recent events again and again confirm that our class opponents are learning from their defeats. They are acting against the socialist countries in a more and more refined and perfidious manner."

State monopolistic capitalism has given new traits to modern anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. Virtually all elements of the governmental apparatus in the United States and a number of other capitalist countries, the intelligence bodies and the armed forces, the educational system and bourgeois science are involved in the "psychological warfare" conducted against the USSR, the other fraternal socialist countries and the communist and workers parties. In the United States, anti-Sovietism has acquired the nature of a state policy. The White House Administration has actually taken into its hands and put under its control the means and leadership over foreign and domestic information and propaganda activities, it "gives special treatment" to the special services and institutions conducting subversive propaganda and finances them at state expense.

This can be judged from those measures which have recently been undertaken by the American administration for strengthening the ideological subversion apparatus. The main American agency in foreign political propaganda is the United States Information Agency (USIA) and this year it received 644 million dollars for its subversive activities. The budget of the basic Washington propaganda mouthpiece, Voice of America, was increased by 30 percent. Nor have the CIA servants, the radio stations Liberty and Radio Free Europe been forgotten. Their annual budget has reached 100 million dollars. The broadcasts of Voice of America and Radio Free Europe are over 93 hours a day just in the languages of the Soviet peoples.

The new "crusade" is a new approach by the American propaganda and intelligence services to the content and methods of subversive propaganda. In it one can clearly see a turn from the former "flexible" and to some degree camouflaged anticommunism to a frontal attack against Marxist-Leninist teachings, against real socialism, and toward an unbridled, unpardonable slander of the USSR and the other socialist commonwealth nations. This can be seen from a whole series

of conferences organized by the USIA, the U.S. State Department and the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee.

In mid-February of the current year, upon the initiative of the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University in Washington and which is close to the U.S. Administration, a conference was held under the pretentious title "New Directions in U.S. Foreign Policy." In essence this was the third instructional meeting in recent months for political scientists, propagandists and ideological subversives from 56 states following the U.S. policy. At it they discussed further measures related to carrying out the anti-communist "crusade." This time it was a question of deceiving world public opinion which had been disturbed by the militaristic preparations of Washington and to show the "peacefulness" of the White House and to oppose the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, the antiwar movement which is growing throughout the world and the resistance of the Western Europeans to the plans to deploy American nuclear missiles in their countries.

The provocative appeals to widen the framework and focus of the "psychological warfare" and to give ideological subversion an even broader scope received strong propaganda support during those same days. The State Department announced a so-called program of democracy and public diplomacy characterized by its compilers as a plan of "long-term efforts with a global scope." It is a statement of Washington's intentions, unprecedented in their provocative nature and scope, to sharply increase the subversive information and propaganda activities abroad and to put subversive ideological work on a permanent basis.

Particular attention has been given to propaganda and subversive activities against the socialist countries and against the unity of the Warsaw Pact states. Here they plan to broaden the programs of the radio stations broadcasting to them, to disseminate hostile literature in these states under the guise of a "free exchange of information," to coordinate the struggle against the socialist world on various international forums, to provide ideological and material encouragement for counterrevolutionary activities and to support the "defenders of democracy" (Washington considers various splinter groups and traitors among them). Judging from statements by representatives of the American administration, the United States intends to openly resort to implanting a certain "infrastructure of democracy" in the socialist countries.

What is concealed by this wise term? An attempt to undermine the moral and political unity of the socialist states by creating in them a "free press," "free trade unions" and "independent parties," in other words, a legal "fifth column" which would operate upon the instructions and under the support of the United States.

For realizing the posed goals, from highly placed officials in the Washington administration, a special planning group has been organized headed by the president's Assistant for National Security W. Clark. Four interagency commissions have been set up, each of which has been given the duty of running its own area of provocative measures. Some 65 million dollars have been allocated for the new venture of the American administration. This is how the newspaper WASHINGTON POST has defined the present strategy of the anti-Soviet "crusaders": "The emphasis has been put on somehow changing the Soviet system, achieving

military superiority, conducting a slander campaign and maintaining glacial indifference to everything except complete subordination to American conditions."

The Pentagon's propaganda machine has been put in the front rank of the ideological offensive by the Washington "crusaders." In the U.S. Defense Department there is, according to the assertion by authors of a special study published in New York, "one of the largest governmental set-ups which directs a flow of information and propaganda materials the nature of which in no way runs contrary to the established course or programs of the Pentagon in particular and the Administration as a whole." According to American data, within the U.S. Defense Department, there are 4,500 employees engaged in influencing public opinion in a direction required by official Washington. Available to the American military are almost 300 radio and TV stations scattered around the world and officially serving American servicemen abroad but also in parallel influencing the local population. The Defense Department publishes hundreds of militaristic books, pamphlets, newspapers and magazines with an annual run of 8 million copies and has also organized the production of special films.

The U.S. secretary of defense and his closest assistants often "explain" and also present various foreign policy questions in a favorable light to the Pentagon. Everyone recalls the Pentagon's propaganda farce over the publishing of the pamphlet "Soviet Military Might." The authors of this fraud from the Defense Department advertised it as the "broadest disclosure of secret data" from the American special services on the "Soviet threat." The very chief of the Pentagon C. Weinburger assumed the role of the coordinator of this propaganda volley and he wrote the introduction to it. The targets--and these have been not only the Americans but also the population of the NATO countries and Japan--have literally been inundated. The Pentagoners have also used satellite TV communications in order to allow their chief himself to swing the anti-Soviet censor and to frighten and confuse the population of many Western countries by the "intimidating nature of Soviet military might." At the same time, by specially chartered aircraft the Pentagon "sham" was delivered and implanted on European soil and in other regions of the world.

Although the expected effect was not obtained from this ideological subversion, the Pentagon propagandists have not lost their ardor for misleading public opinion. In March of the current year, descending on the heads of the Philistines was a new batch of juggled data and unsubstantiated assertions on the "military lag" of the United States with the publishing on the banks of the Potomac of the second edition of the propaganda pamphlet "Soviet Military Might" with the foreword by C. Weinburger. It is noteworthy that the pamphlet appeared at the very moment when the mood in favor of reducing excessive military expenditures and the movement against the nuclear arms race and in favor of a freeze had sharply intensified in the United States, including in Congress.

The new Pentagon propaganda trick, where individual figures and facts reflecting the real state of affairs are drowned in intentionally false information again clearly shows what Washington is actually up to. No, it is certainly nothing to do with equality and equal security for the sides but rather the justifying of the next notch in the arms race, the achieving of military supremacy over the USSR and attempts at Pentagon dictating of terms and expansion in various regions. As before, a position is shaped inside the Pentagon and then

it is supported at press conferences by representatives of the Administration in taking up military questions while the elaborated version is disseminated by the special services through newspapers, radio and TV across the entire nation.

One need not go far for an example. In February 1983, a meeting was held of American ultra-rightist reactionaries with the participation of the entire leadership of the U.S. Administration headed by the president. The head of the Pentagon C. Weinburger at this gathering of "hawks" announced his own version of "war to a victorious end" and "the reestablishing of peace (in the event of war) on American terms." It was a question of strengthening military preparedness in the U.S. armed forces and raising their combat readiness in order that they could fight "as long as would be necessary." In echoing the Pentagon leader, the U.S. Secretary of State G. Schultz also extolled the American policy of "from a position of strength." The concepts elaborated at the gathering of militarists served as a new incentive in the fanning of a military psychosis by the information media and the disseminating of misanthropic ideas.

A particular feature of the subversive propaganda activities of imperialism and primarily American, is their close link with the intelligence services. The U.S. President, R. Reagan, in his speech at the CIA did not conceal that it was precisely the employees of this agency who had been given the role of one of the basic detachments in the anticommunist "crusade" declared by him. "We should urge all nations of the world to crusade for liberty and carry out a global campaign for human rights," he proclaimed. "You (that is, the CIA employees.--Yu.N.) are on the front line of this struggle...."

According to American data, working for the CIA are hundreds of journalists and press organs ready not only to acquire the necessary information but also to pick up and disseminate the misinformation inspired by Washington and take an active part in the subversive propaganda actions undertaken under U.S. initiative. One-quarter of the multibillion CIA expenses for clandestine operations overseas goes for subversive propaganda.

One of the forms of ideological subversion is the regular inventing of "sensational" or "secret" documents which purportedly shed light on one or another aspect of domestic and foreign policy in the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. For the "secrets" fabricated in Langley (the CIA headquarters) a "leak" is organized in the mass information media and on this basis the carrying out of the next provocative campaign. We might recall what an anti-Soviet stir accompanied the release of CIA announcements (which upon checking were obvious frauds) on the "superiority" of the Soviet Union over the West in tanks and missiles, on the "plans" for a Soviet invasion" of Europe and the use of chemical weapons by the USSR in Afghanistan. It is not only a question that the CIA "reports" and "information" serve as a propaganda cover for U.S. aggressive preparations. In being spread by false "voices" and in cloudy "waves" throughout the world, this slander should mislead people, distort the peace-loving Soviet domestic and foreign policy and give rise to false rumors and idle talk.

Recently in the West noticeably more active work has been undertaken by the network of scientific and research centers concerned with ideological problems and Sovietology. It is precisely here that the formulas for "psychological warfare"

against socialism are basically worked out and personnel trained as anticommunist theoreticians and working propagandists.

Let us recall that in the United States there are over 150 institutes and scientific organizations as well as around 200 university chairs specialized in the elaboration of anticommunist doctrines. Virtually all the nation's institutions of higher learning, according to evidence in the journal PROGRESSIVE, carry out various projects under Pentagon orders and receive payment from it for their subversive "products." Political activities hostile to socialism and to all progressive forces are ideologically given a basis in the Western sovietological centers.

The basic function of these "psychological warfare" centers is to work out forecasts, models, programs, approaches and methods for combating the theory and practice of scientific communism and countering the revolutionary, liberation, democratic ideas in the capitalist nations and throughout the world. It has become a norm in the West to organize various sorts of conferences and pseudo-scientific symposiums at which propaganda counterattacks are worked out and coordinated against the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR and all the Warsaw Pact countries as well as against the practices of socialist and communist construction.

For example, at the end of 1982, a conference was held in Bonn organized by the K. Adenauer Political Education Fund with the participation of prominent political figures, diplomats, scholars and propagandists from the FRG and the United States. The conference participants, as the newspaper STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG announced, were in favor of "carrying out on time" the dangerous NATO plans for turning Europe into an American nuclear staging area and for taking measures against possible new antiwar demonstrations in the FRG.

The coordinated and massed influence on public awareness has made it possible for the imperialist circles to conduct propaganda attacks both within the individual capitalist countries and on an international scale. An example of such joint anticommunist propaganda activity by the Western countries has been their collaboration within the aggressive North Atlantic Alliance.

The combining of the threat of force with ideological subversive activities and shameless propaganda attacks has become a characteristic trait in the tactics of the enemies of peace and detente. The Atlanticists give great importance to "psychological warfare," viewing it as a specific type of weapon in the struggle against communism and the socialist commonwealth, against the peace-loving peoples. Being one of the elements of the West's military-political system, the NATO propaganda apparatus should create a psychological situation in the NATO countries and beyond them which would make it possible for them to realize their dangerous plans by shaping a positive public attitude toward the military-political doctrines and plans of the Atlanticists.

The NATO Information Service has thrown out many "ideas" which have then been used for fierce attacks against USSR domestic and foreign policy, for fanning a militaristic psychosis and for deceiving millions of people. Much ideological subversion supported by the bourgeois information media has been prepared by the NATO headquarters in close collaboration and even upon the direct initiative of the American Administration and the CIA.

The role of NATO as the coordinator and at times the organizer of imperialism's ideological subversion has long been known. It has been regularly confirmed at sessions of the NATO Council the members of which have instructed their allies to continue to seek "a liberalizing of the flow of information" "in relations with the East." The gentlemen of NATO in essence want the legalizing of ideological subversion on the territory of the socialist countries! Clearly this cannot be. Nor have they forgotten the notorious campaign for "human rights" which was used by the NATO leaders as a means of intervening into the internal affairs of other states. For example, at the Madrid Meeting for the representatives of the member nations of the Conference on security and cooperation in Europe, the delegations from the NATO countries operated as an united front in their attempts to impose on its members a discussion (in truth, this failed) of the situation in Poland and openly demonstrated their desire to intervene into Polish internal affairs.

As is known, the normalizing of the situation in Poland has been impeded by the hostile activities of the imperialist states. The United States and NATO have in essence organized an economic blockade of Poland and are conducting a true propaganda war against it, in continuously initiating massed ideological campaigns. Bourgeois propaganda has employed the Polish events for anti-Soviet purposes. The well-known American anticommunist ideologist Z. Brzezinski has urged "drawing out the Polish tragedy in order to cause an explosion." For this provocative undertaking he has proposed setting up in the United States a special headquarters to carry out anti-Polish actions and to involve as many Western Europeans in it as possible, having shown to them that U.S. policy toward Poland is aimed at "complicating the life of Eastern Europe and the Russians."

Monopolistic capital, the military-industrial complex and the extreme right wing of the bourgeoisie are the main instigators and organizers of the anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign in the United States and NATO. They often not only set the tone in the policy of the bourgeois state which is hostile to socialism but also themselves are directly involved in the "psychological warfare" against communism, here complementing the state's political opportunities with their own economic might. "We know that giant corporations have set up public affairs departments capable of disseminating the grains of propaganda widely," commented the American scholar R. Lepp on this question. "When the aerospace firms purchase entire color inserts for national publications to extol military products, they are propagandizing not only their campaigns but also the cold war." This trend toward a direct impact of military business on the press and the capturing of information media by it is also characteristic for other Western countries.

In utilizing all the might of their propaganda apparatus, our ideological opponents have now put in the forefront the task of a direct influence on the population of the USSR and the other socialist commonwealth countries. At present, the question of war and peace has become a field of a heated ideological clash. The anti-Soviets have endeavored to convince people that the steps of the United States and NATO in the area of the arms race are a forced response to the Soviet "challenge." "From the official representatives in Washington," said the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, "arguments have been heard on the possibility of a 'limited,' 'extended'

and other varieties of nuclear war. They are endeavoring to placate people and accustom them to the notion of its acceptability."

The instigators are planning on undermining the confidence in the rightness of our ideas and our cause, in resorting to rabid, frontal attacks on the achievements of real socialism. Sometimes, when this is advantageous to the ideological saboteurs, they resort to the traditional hypocritical stratagems of anti-communist, anti-Soviet propaganda. Its creators pretend to be sympathetic with the population of the socialist countries, they speak about the necessity of "improving" our system and make use of social democratic and anarchosyndicalist phraseology. Bourgeois propaganda has endeavored to exploit religious prejudices in spreading the lie that under socialism people are persecuted for religious convictions.

The Soviet servicemen and the youth of induction age are particular targets of the ideological saboteurs. The American RAND Corporation has prepared a "study" for the Pentagon on the USSR Armed Forces. This contains recommendations envisaging attempts at weakening military discipline and the combat morale of our military by setting the rank-and-file in opposition to their commanders and by fanning nationalistic attitudes among the personnel. For persons of induction age, they have fostered the provocative idea that constitutionally obligatory service in the USSR Armed Forces is a violation of "human rights," and so forth.

It is becoming evermore apparent that our ideological opponents are focusing their efforts on questions concerning the material situation and standard of living of the Soviet peoples and their spiritual development. Western propaganda has endeavored to implant consumer attitudes, particularly in the youth. This is done in a long-ranged ideological aim: perhaps in our society the ideas and views of life will take root which are present in bourgeois society, a society where a person's place is determined by the amount of money in a bank account. Perhaps in our country it will become the norm to have a devil-may-care attitude toward the collective, toward elders and society as a whole and there will be more people endeavoring to live off of society, more peevish Philistines.

No, the radio broadcasts of the Western "voices" and "waves" are far from blameless, as the entrappers of souls would have us believe! With good reason these "instruments of psychological warfare," as was written in the book "Secrets of Espionage" by one of the professional Western intelligence agents Farago, "have the task of combating communist propaganda and information in the socialist countries and bringing there information which the free (that is, capitalist.--Yu.N.) world is interested in." Such information, as is emphasized in the recommendations to the imperialist radio services, is essential for "weakening the support for Soviet foreign policy," "for reducing discipline" of the workers, for distracting persons "from problems of social interest" and so forth. The ideological saboteurs also do not conceal the fact that such radio slander is designed primarily for a milieu where the level of social awareness is low, where ideological and political studies are approached formally and where there are gaps in theoretical and economic knowledge. All sorts of "voices" and "waves" take advantage precisely of this, depicting the lie as the truth and the gossip as "reliable information."

For this reason in actual agitation and propaganda work, it is extremely important to disclose the mechanism for the bringing in of various inflammatory information, to unmask the goals of Western ideological subversion and reveal their controllers and executors. The Soviet people and our military should be clearly aware that the gossip and slanders picked up on the street are supplied to the hostile radio centers by unscrupulous bourgeois correspondents working in the USSR, by morally and politically dissolute elements who are ready to concoct any frend for dollars. Joining in this are some of the dishonest tourists who have visited the USSR as well as workers from the information services of certain embassies.

A portion of the information is taken from statements and reports by members of various delegations which have visited the USSR; it is pieced together from talks with Soviet tourists traveling abroad and then appropriately paraphrased (Radio Free Europe maintains a whole department of "special projects" for this purpose) as well as from carefully opened letters from Soviet citizens overseas. Much news is also taken from our newspapers, particularly local ones, and "transformed," that is, flagrantly distorted. Extensive use is also made of the method of monitoring and intercepting the broadcasts of local radios and the radiotelephone conversations. The materials are taped and processed in the appropriate manner. Then to this anti-Soviet soup is added a barrel of propaganda slops in the form of the corresponding "commentaries." All of this is broadcast on behalf of one of the radio stations back to our nation.

The "up-to-dateness" and "ubiquitousness" of the radio voices are achieved by this rather primitive manner. However, it is essential to bear in mind that, upon the admission of the leaders of the subversive radios, only a portion of the secured information is employed for broadcasts to the Soviet Union. The remainder is forwarded to the various U.S. institutions, primarily the CIA.

Another method is also employed and this has been openly set out in the manual on organizing political broadcasts for Radio Free Europe: "Invent certain events and facts since they cannot be checked out over the extensive territory of the USSR or overseas."

And they are "invented." One of the forms of ideological subversion against our country carried out by the hostile radio voices is the setting off of slanderous, provocative rumors. This may involve a supposed "devaluation of the ruble," or they begin emphasizing the word "increase," applying it to the most diverse concepts such as state prices or the pension age of Soviet people, or they instill fear over the "lining up of the planets," predicting the end of the world because of their position. And for greater persuasiveness, the western liars refer to certain "informed circles in Moscow," "persons close to the sources of official information" and so forth.

Hostile propaganda openly counts on an uncritical attitude toward its announcements by individual citizens who take on faith any chatter from abroad, on their parading of "exceptional informativeness," and on the passivity of those who mistakenly or out of political infantileness do not pay any importance to rumors which can be smelled a mile away.

The misinformation broadcast to the USSR, according to the plans of its initiators, should create false rumors and nervousness among the people, it should demoralize the population and disrupt the normal process of life and work. The newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR reported on an official Voice of America document which set the tasks of using "information" broadcasts for endeavoring to "destabilize" the situation in the socialist countries, to "spread discord" and "drive in a wedge of dissatisfaction and suspicion." Some of the chiefs of the Western subversive centers have openly admitted that the propagandizing of "excitement," as the spreading of rumors is designated in the professional anti-Soviet lexicon, should "criticize the Soviet foundations," and "distract the Russians from the important tasks of their internal construction and reduce the work pace." Thus, the exaggerating of any dubious rumors with the justifying stipulation that "so they say..." is an intentional or unintentional aid to our class and ideological enemy and harms our society.

The "crusade" by imperialism against socialism has developed along a broad front, assuming on the part of our enemies, diverse forms including diversionary and subversive. On the question of the new measures by the American Administration related to the broadening of "psychological warfare," the TASS statement published on 18 February 1983 emphasized: "In Soviet leading circles it is felt that such a policy by Washington aimed at undermining the bases of international relations and at flagrant intervention into the affairs of other countries involves a serious threat to universal peace. It demands the harshest condemnation."

Over the years of Soviet power, our nation and our people have repeatedly encountered the fierce attacks of imperialism along all fronts, including on the invisible front of the struggle of ideologies. But we have moved steadily forward, surmounting any obstacles and impediments of the Cold War. There is no doubt that the next campaign under the black standards of anticommunism will also end in defeat for the newly appeared "crusaders." "No one will succeed in undermining the socialist system with the aid of misinformation and slander," stated the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact States. It is the duty of the Soviet people and the men of the Armed Forces to maintain high political vigilance, to skillfully spot the subversive actions of the enemy and give a worthy rebuff to the class opponents of socialism.

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METHODS FOR STRENGTHENING TROOPS' 'MORAL SPIRIT' DISCUSSED

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 8, Apr 83 (signed to press 4 Apr 83) pp 25-35

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor, Maj Gen N. Tabunov: "Troop Morale and the Basic Ways of Strengthening It." The article is recommended for use in studying the subject "The Activities of Commanders, Political Bodies and Party Organizations in the Moral-Political and Psychological Training of Personnel for Successful Combat Operations."]

[Text] "We are well aware that you cannot request peace from the imperialists. It can be defended in relying solely on the unbreakable might of the Soviet Armed Forces." These words by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, definitively characterize the role and significance of the combat potential of our Army and Navy in thwarting the aggressive aspirations of the imperialist forces and in defending the victories of socialism and peace throughout the world.

As is known, troop morale is one of the components of combat potential. Its impact on the course and outcome of armed struggle is difficult to overestimate. "In any war," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "victory ultimately is determined by the state of the spirit of those masses who shed their blood on the battlefield" (PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 121). The appearance of modern military equipment and weapons of mass destruction has not eliminated the given fact and has not reduced the significance of the morale factor. However, it has substantially influenced the content of the moral-political and psychological preparation of the personnel for successful combat operations. This has impelled our officer personnel to show increasing attention to the questions making it possible to better understand the essence and structure of morale as well as the basic ways and means of strengthening it.

The possibility that the imperialist aggressors may initiate a world war involving weapons of mass destruction has become a harsh reality of our times.

It is not difficult to predict that the use of nuclear missile weapons will give new traits to modern combat, it will excessively complicate the combat activities of the men and cause increased moral, psychological and physical stresses and diverse difficulties which impede the manifesting of combat activeness and the achieving of the goals of armed combat. Under these conditions,

the importance of the moral strength of servicemen as an irreplaceable factor unifying all the components of combat might into a single whole rises even more.

How must we understand troop morale? This is primarily the aggregate of political and moral ideas, attitudes and feelings which permeate the masses of servicemen and which express their attitude toward the true interests of the motherland and the people, toward the sociopolitical system and policy of the state and, during a war, also to its goals.

In troop morale, the attitude of the servicemen to the social nature, course and expected outcome of a war as well as to its goals and methods of conduct is expressed through the prism of philosophical-sociological, economic, political, legal, moral, religious (among believers) and aesthetic views and convictions. But the most significant of them for the strengthening of troop morale are the political and moral convictions in which the attitude toward a war gains a concentrated expression. This circumstance also explains the name widely used in Marxist literature for morale, that is, the moral-political factor.

In troop morale, one can establish two basic levels, the ideological and psychological. These levels also operate as its basic structural components. The first of them embodies the ideological sets of a certain class and under the conditions of victorious socialism, of the entire society. These sets are assimilated by the servicemen in the process of political training and military, moral and legal indoctrination. The second manifests the views and feelings of the servicemen usually acquired in the process of the specific ideological exposure of the soldiers and officers and in the course of their daily activities and interpersonal contacts.

Also in the psychological level of troop morale are the unconscious spiritual impulses which are formed in the psyche on the basis of a genetically programmed code (for example, temperament, different instincts, including the instinct of preservation). Hence, the mental sphere (the "unconscious") which a person has been given from birth also has a definite effect on controlling human conduct, including in a combat situation. Precisely this is most responsible for the spontaneous panic actions which sometimes arise on a battlefield among those servicemen who do not have the proper psychological conditioning.

On the basis of the ideological and psychological morale levels, there arise two groups of troop qualities: the moral-political and the psychological. Of course, the formation of the designated groups of qualities does not occur in isolation from one another. For this reason in the moral-political qualities one can also note the "traces" of the social, collective psychology and in the psychological qualities, the "traces" of ideology.

The moral-political qualities of servicemen express their ideological attitude toward communism (dedication to the cause of communism), to the socialist motherland (socialist patriotism), to the socialist nations (socialist internationalism), to the workers of all nations (class solidarity), hate for all manifestations of social injustice (impacability toward exploitation and suppression, national and racial prejudices), the attitude toward like-thinkers and comrades in joint activity (collectivism), social activeness, an awareness and feeling of human dignity and personal responsibility for the defense of the fatherland and socialist victories.

The psychological qualities of the men are those qualities which, on the one hand, serve as a genetic sensory "basis" for moral-political qualities and, on the other, express the particular features of the mental processes and states of the servicemen. Thus, while patriotism, as a psychological quality, is manifested in a love for the home, city or village, the same patriotism, as a moral-political quality, is expressed in a felt involvement in the motherland and its destiny. A person's psychological qualities are also expressed in his capacities of perception, attention, memory, in reaction speed, in emotional and volitional stability, in the nature of contacts with other persons (psychological compatibility) and so forth.

In coming together, the moral-political and psychological qualities of a serviceman are manifested in his capacity for heroic, courageous deeds and actions. It is essential to bear in mind that these do not exist by themselves but are realized in concrete human activity, for example, among servicemen in combat activities, in operating as their moral-combat qualities.

While combat qualities represent the spiritual and physical capacity of the soldiers and officers who perform their duties as a military specialist (his competence, physical endurance and so forth), the moral-combat ones represent an organic fusion of the moral and combat qualities and a manifesting of the latter under the control of the social and ideological sets of the individual. The moral-combat qualities characterize a soldier not only as a military specialist (he is able to master the weapons) but also his social sets (he knows in whose defense these weapons must be employed). "...The most powerful and most modern equipment can fully manifest its capacity only when," as the USSR Minister of Defense, Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, has pointed out, "when it is in the hands of soldiers who have mastered it perfectly, who possess high morale and are convinced of the rightfulness of the cause which they are defending."

The basic sources for forming troop morale are: social relations which characterize its social causality; the quantitative and qualitative indicators for all the remaining components of the combat might of the armed forces and, finally, the relations between the internal components of troop morale itself.

In the first group of the sources of troop morale are to be found the social system of the country, the political system of society and the spiritual atmosphere prevailing in it. All of this feeds the conscience (ideas and feelings) of the servicemen, it is transmitted through infinite channels into their midst and shapes their morale. In a socialist society, these sources are the determinants in shaping troop morale and possess an indisputed advantage over the analogous sources of an antagonistic, in particular a capitalist, society. "Defeat will never come for that people in which the workers and peasants in their majority have recognized, felt and seen that they are defending their own Soviet power, worker power, that they are defending that cause the victory of which will provide them and their children with an opportunity to benefit from all the goods of culture and all the creations of human labor" (V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 38, p 315). This conclusion drawn by Lenin at the peak of the Civil War was affirmed by the Soviet people in the victory in the Great Patriotic War.

The second group of sources for troop morale includes the qualitative and quantitative levels of such components of the combat might of the armed forces as their technical equipping; the control and command maturity of command personnel and the degree to which they have mastered advanced military art; the military skills of all the personnel.

Undoubtedly, military equipment which is inferior in its quantitative and qualitative indicators to enemy military equipment in any war will have a negative impact on the moral state of the troops and consequently on the course and outcome of combat. Thus, in drawing conclusions from the Russo-Japanese War, V. I. Lenin wrote: "No tenacity, no physical strength, no heard instinct and cohesiveness of the mass struggle can produce superiority in an age of rapid firing, small-caliber guns, machine guns and complex technical devices on ships..." (PSS, Vol 9, pp 155-156). Since then colossal changes have occurred in the development of military equipment and these changes have given an even more categorical nature to Lenin's conclusion.

At present, the struggle in the military-technical area has become sharply more acute and it has often assumed a fundamentally new nature. In initiating this, the imperialist circles have endeavored to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. But such a policy is hopeless and is capable merely of strengthening the threat of war. "To the challenge from the American side," declared the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, "we will be forced to respond by deploying our corresponding weapons systems: to the MX our own analogous missile; to the American long-range cruise missile with our own long-range cruise missile...."

But even the presence of the most advanced equipment is no guarantee for successful combat operations. In a war, the main force has been and remains man. This is particularly important now, in the age of nuclear missile weapons, when the fate of a war will be determined by the men who have mastered the weapons and military equipment and are able to employ it in accord with the principles of advanced military art. For this reason the military-technical, operational-tactical and similar knowledge, abilities and skills which in and of themselves are not a component part of troop morale influence its strengthening in a most essential manner. A professionally trained soldier acts more confidently in combat than a person who has not mastered the equipment and weapons.

The confidence of a soldier grows immeasurably when he knows that he is being led into combat by highly trained commanders who are competent in military affairs and are able to command the troops in an intelligent and decisive manner and achieve success with minimum human losses. Even in the last century F. Engels pointed out that when the waves of the technical revolution are crashing around us, we must have fresher, bolder heads (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 22, p 395). This idea of F. Engels has assumed particular pertinence under the conditions of the present-day military and technical revolution. The commander of a socialist army is now required to be able to think and act with an extremely rigid time limit, under an enormous moral-psychological and physical stresses and must be able to assume responsibility for taking decisions in critical situations and inspire confidence in subordinates as to his command and control qualities.

The third group of sources for the strengthening of troop morale reflects the character and degree of development in the ideological and psychological components and their interaction. But, in being internal elements of morale, they themselves are the object of the purposeful shaping and development in the process of all indoctrinational work, all forms of military labor and all aspects of daily life of the servicemen.

In accord with the two basic components of morale (ideological and psychological) there are also two areas for strengthening this and these have been named the moral-political and psychological training of troops.

The aim of the moral-political training of personnel in a socialist army is to develop their Marxist-Leninist ideology and to deepen their knowledge about party and government policy, the justness of the cause of defending the socialist fatherland and the victories of socialism and on the aggressive nature of imperialism.

Recently particular urgency has been assumed by the task of providing the men with complete knowledge about the growing danger and anti-Soviet, antisocialist trend in the military preparations of the imperialist states (primarily the United States) comprising the aggressive NATO bloc; this is being done in the system of moral-political training.

The U.S. government headed by R. Reagan has worked out a new military-political strategy for the 1980's and this has been termed a strategy of "direct confrontation" with the USSR and the other socialist nations. In speaking in the middle of last year in the British Parliament, the American President urged his allies to commence an outright "crusade" against communism and to "adopt extreme measures" in the aim of seeing to it that Marxism-Leninism "ended up on the ash heap of history." The strategic aims of the aggressive forces in American imperialism are also subordinate to this same task. As was pointed out in the "secret document" of the Pentagon entitled "Directive Instructions on the Organizational Development of the U.S. Armed Forces" published in many American newspapers, it is essential to rapidly create the prerequisites for a struggle to "destroy socialism as a sociopolitical system."

Undoubtedly there is a good deal of adventuristic bravura in the initiated propaganda campaign which should confirm the firmness of Washington's course, its unswerving will and determination to deal with the USSR from a position of strength and in the consciously controlled "leaking of secret information" which supposedly shows the seriousness of the intentions of the U.S. leaders to risk initiating a nuclear war. However, on our behalf it would be unforgivable to underestimate the real military danger and the possibility of a surprise starting of a world nuclear war by the aggressive circles of imperialism.

Obviously the men of our Army and Navy have now been particularly entrusted with the maintaining of the highest military readiness and unflagging political vigilance. For this reason, an increased timeliness and higher quality of political information for the men, political studies with all categories of personnel and greater results from all forms of indoctrinational work in the sub-units and units are assuming ever-greater significance.

Under the conditions of the ever-growing aggressiveness of imperialism, the role of the psychological training of the men in the Army and Navy has substantially grown. The aim of psychological training is to instill in the men such qualities as would allow them to carry out the combat tasks in the most dangerous combat situations employing the equipment with which modern armies are armed.

Historical experience shows that even a profound love for one's motherland and a firm ideological conviction of the justness of a war are not always sufficient to steadfastly and unflinchingly endure the psychological hardship of the first battle and to be able to control one's feelings and conduct in dangerous situations. This is explained by the fact that human conduct is regulated not only by a person's conscience, that is, the socially determined sphere of his psyche, but also by its unconscious sphere, the genetically transmitted instincts, including the instinct of self-preservation.

In this regard we would like to give the following example. D. Furmanov, a totally convinced communist and steadfast fighter whose bravery was disputed by no one, rightly wrote that "this is empty boasting is one is supposedly completely calm in battle, under fire. There are no such rocks in the human kind." In describing the mental state of the commissar of the Chapayev Division, Klychkov, in his first battle at Slomikhinskaya Station, the writer (and in the figure of Klychkov he presented himself to the reader) with merciless sincerity admitted that he had "leapt into the saddle and galloped off...where? He himself did not know, but he did not want to flee the battle but merely to leave that place, to go somewhere else where possibly the bullets did not whistle so piercingly and where terrible danger was not so close...." The participants of the Great Patriotic War where more powerful weapons were employed could, as a rule, say something similar about their mental state in the first battles.

However, the history of past wars also shows something else: the stronger a soldier's love for his motherland and hate for its enemy, the stronger his conviction that the cause for which he subjects himself to mortal risk and even the certainty of death will inevitably be victorious; the greater his personal experience in surmounting mental stresses under combat and generally extreme conditions, the more obedient to reason and will power are his feelings and impulses deriving from the sphere of the subconscious psyche given to man from birth. This is a fundamental ideological and psychological pattern. There is no reason to doubt that it will make itself felt under combat conditions involving weapons of mass destruction in the event of the unleashing of war by the imperialist aggressors.

In such a war it is very difficult but still possible to simulate the effects of danger and its impact on the psyche of a soldier. We possess precise descriptions of the behavior of inhabitants in the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on which the American military without any necessity dropped the first atomic bombs as well as the testimonies of residents of many cities which experienced the destructive force of earthquakes. (The psychotraumatizing effect of catastrophic earthquakes on the populace is reminiscent of the effect of the explosions of atomic bombs dropped on the Japanese cities.)

It is also essential to simulate the effect of danger on the psyche of servicemen because, as post-war events have shown, the American aggressors in Vietnam and the Israeli ones in Lebanon have employed fuel-air explosives ("vacuum bombs") which, in the opinion of foreign specialists, occupy an intermediate position between nuclear and conventional weapons. The imperialist armies have been armed with weapons controlled by high-precision homing and automated systems the use of which will also give an extremely destructive form to so-called conventional weapons and this undoubtedly will strengthen the moral-psychological effect on the servicemen.

For this reason it is perfectly obvious that the problem of the psychological preparation of servicemen during peacetime has assumed particularly important significance, although its realization involves great difficulties arising out of the impossibility of creating a situation which precisely corresponds to a combat one during training drills and various exercises. It is all the more important not to allow accidentally and particularly consciously the simplifying or weakening of the exercises. The more difficult in an exercise, the easier it is in combat. This aphoristically expressed principle which has been followed by the best military leaders of the past has not lost its wise sense in our times.

Psychological conditioning is carried out in the process of combat drill, in field, air and sea training of the men, in having them stand alert duty, on garrison and patrol service and by the maintaining of proper relationships in the troop collectives. There is and cannot be any particular psychological training outside the designated and other forms of the daily life of the men and their military service. This circumstance obliges the officer indoctrinators to see the psychological aspect in a comprehensive approach to organizing all types of military service and in the entire system of troop indoctrination.

In the Army and Navy there are special types of training which demand a significant psychological stress from the men (for example, parachuting for airborne troops, underwater driving for tank troops, mine clearing for combat engineers, damage control for sailors and so forth). However, the opportunities found in the training plans and programs are not always fully utilized in order to skillfully shape the high psychological qualities of the men as required in a combat situation.

The strengthening of troop morale has always caused a desire to define it not only from a qualitative aspect but also from a quantitative one. The officers of a socialist army, in being guided by the Marxist-Leninist research methodology, proceed from the scientifically based principle of the unlimited nature of human understanding. However complex morale may be, it can be assessed quantitatively. Quantitative analysis of morale makes it possible to more accurately determine the army's battleworthiness, to pose feasible tasks and to forecast the course and outcome of combat operations. Even in the last century, F. Engels emphasized how important it was to correctly assess the strength of an army, to know "its state of morale, that is, what can be demanded from it without threatening to demoralize it" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 31, p 360).

The final and most important criterion for the state of troop morale is the capacity of the troops to actually carry out the tasks confronting them. But this criterion is a measure of not only morale but also other components of an army's fighting might. The difficulty of the problem is how in an actual result (for instance, in a victory won in a specific engagement or operation) to isolate that portion of its achieving which was brought about precisely by troop morale and not their technical equipping, the professional training of the servicemen or the command qualities of the officers.

At present, we do not have a strictly tested out formula for a quantitative assessment of morale and for this reason we are forced to limit ourselves predominantly to a qualitative description of it combined with certain quantitative indicators relating not only to morale but also to the other components of the combat might of the armed forces.

In defining troop morale ("state of morale"), ordinarily three levels of it are established: high, medium and low. Ordinarily these levels terminologically are expressed as the high, healthy or low political-moral state of the formations and units.

A high level of troop morale is characterized by their ability to successfully carry out the intense but feasible tasks confronting them, including the capacity to conduct combat operations in achieving clearly expressed supremacy over the enemy with approximately the same level of resources. Correspondingly to this, low troop morale is defined by the inability to achieve success under analogous conditions and this leads to the loss of initiative and the loss of confidence in the possibility of achieving combat supremacy over the enemy.

A quantitative description of the high, middle and low levels of troop morale can be supplemented and concretized by a number of quantitative indicators such as: the state of discipline, including the number of infractions and, certainly, their nature; by the time required for bringing the troops into a state of full combat readiness, if prior to this there was no need to maintain such a state; by the ability to conduct active combat operations against the enemy with losses of personnel and equipment in a quantity considered to be the threshold of battleworthiness, and so forth.

For example, an analysis of previous wars has made it possible to derive an average figure describing the capacity of the troops to conduct active combat operations with losses not exceeding 40 percent of their initial number. The impact of such a number of casualties on troop morale depends upon the number of days during which such losses were suffered, upon the combat activeness of the enemy and of course upon the moral strength of the troops. As is known, during the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet soldiers showed mass heroism. For example, in the battles at Sevastopol, Stalingrad and the Kursk Salient, there were frequent instances when our subunits drove off fierce attacks by superior enemy forces and fought the enemy until not a single man remained alive.

It is perfectly obvious that in a war involving nuclear missile weapons, if the aggressive circles of the imperialist states unleash it, troop morale in the socialist armies will be one of the major components of combat success and a crushing defeat of the enemy.

Any armed clash involves victims. But the use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction greatly increases the scale of destruction and human sacrifice. Along with the peoples of our own nation and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth, the men of the Soviet Armed Forces sincerely desire that the destructive weapons never be employed either on the ground, in the air, on the water or under the water. But if war is forced on us, the defenders of the socialist fatherland will not flinch and will be able to deal a crushing rebuff to any aggressor.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A SEMINAR EXERCISE

The seminar exercise on the subject "High Combat Readiness--The Main Demand of the Communist Party and the Soviet People on the Armed Forces" is aimed at helping the students better understand the essence, content and structure of combat potential and readiness, their basic characteristics, relationships and ways of strengthening. A discussion of the military theory aspects of the question must be closely tied to the practical tasks of the officers, to the present-day complex international situation which necessitates the maintaining of Army and Navy combat readiness on the highest level guaranteeing the immediate rebuff of any aggressor.

It is recommended that the seminar examine the following basic questions:

1. The combat potential of the Soviet Armed Forces as a strong alloy of high technical equipping, military skill and invincible morale of the Army and Navy personnel.
2. The essence and content of the combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces. The demands of the CPSU on the combat readiness of the troops and naval forces.
3. The basic areas for activity by the commanders and political workers, the party and Komsomol organizations in further raising the combat readiness of the units and ships.

After a brief introductory word by the exercise leader, it is advisable to hear the abstract of the "26th CPSU Congress on the Exacerbation of the Military-Political Situation in the World and the Necessity of Increasing the Combat Readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces." The abstract should reflect recent events showing the increased military threat from the most aggressive imperialist forces (the accelerating of the arms race in the United States and the other NATO countries, their wagering on the achieving of military superiority, the elaboration of overtly anti-Soviet strategic concepts, various models for unleashing a nuclear war and so forth). In this regard, it is important to bring out for the Army and Navy personnel the importance of the party's views on defense questions as set out by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov in his speech at the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, in the report "Sixty Years of the USSR" and in the answers to questions posed by the PRAVDA correspondent as published on 27 March 1983.

In discussing the first question, it is essential to proceed from the fundamental tenet of Lenin's teachings on the defense of the socialist fatherland: as long as the threat to the victories of socialism is maintained, our steps toward peace must be accompanied by an increasing of all our military readiness, we must be on guard and protect the defense capability of the nation and our army like the apple of our eye (see: V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 40, p 248; Vol 44, p 300).

The Soviet Union is firmly carrying out the Leninist course of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems and is a strong opponent of the arms race. It is not working for military supremacy but it cannot make concessions in its defense capability or allow imperialism to upset the existing military strategic equilibrium, for this is fraught with the danger of the outbreak of a new world war. And a modern world war, if imperialism succeeds in starting it, as was pointed out by the USSR Minister of Defense, Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, "will become an incomparably harsher testing for the army and the people than any time previously and will entail an unprecedented straining of all the nation's material and spiritual forces. This requires the preplanned and complete preparation of the socialist state and all the people to repel aggression."

Such complete preparation comes down ultimately to the strengthening of the Armed Forces. Their combat potential now represents a "strong alloy of high technical equipping, military skill and invincible morale" ("Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], p 66). These three components express the very essence of combat potential and its main content. They describe those material and spiritual capabilities which the Armed Forces possess for carrying out the function entrusted to them, that is, securely defending the socialist fatherland and the USSR and along with the fraternal armies, the entire socialist commonwealth and the international victories of socialism.

Obviously it is possible to assess the combat potential of our Army and Navy in quantitative and qualitative terms only by a comparison with the capabilities of the probable enemy. This also must be done in the course of the seminar (comparative data can be found in the book "Otkuda iskhodit ugroza miru" [From Whence the Threat to Peace Derives], 2d Edition, Voenizdat, 1982). It is important to emphasize that the technical equipping of the USSR Armed Forces fully conforms to present-day demands.

At the 26th CPSU Congress it was pointed out that in response to the Trident naval missile system developed in the United States, we have developed the analogous Typhoon System. At present, Washington is wagering on the creation of "super protected" MX strategic missiles and the deploying of the Pershing-2 medium-range ballistic missiles and cruise missiles in Western Europe. At the same time, President R. Reagan has announced the start of developing "broad scale and highly efficient" antimissile defenses in the United States.

In the answers to questions posed by a PRAVDA correspondent, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov stated on the question of the militaristic statements of the American president: "All attempts to achieve military supremacy over the USSR are in vain. The Soviet Union will never permit this and will never appear unarmed when confronted by any threat. Let Washington be fully aware of this. It is time for them to stop inventing constantly new variations for how to better start a nuclear war in the hope of winning it. This exercise is not merely irresponsible but also senseless."

As for the development of conventional weapons such as aviation, armored and artillery equipment, firearms and so forth, here also we are not behind the United States and the other NATO countries. The economy, science and technology

in the Soviet Union are on a level making it possible to quickly develop any type of weapon which the enemy does or can have.

In emphasizing the role of technology in modern warfare, Soviet military science in no way makes a fetish of it. As is known, weapons and equipment are merely dead structures without the men who possess the necessary knowledge and skills. In turn, even professionally trained military specialists are unable to employ weapons with the proper effect if their morale is low. This is why it is essential to view combat potential precisely as an "alloy," that is, in a unity of all its components, each of which determines and strengthens the others.

An important component in combat potential is combat skill, that is, the high professional ability of all personnel categories in the Armed Forces. As was pointed out in the report at the Sixth All-Army Conference of Primary Party Organization Secretaries by the USSR Minister of Defense, Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, "weapons and military equipment can provide the proper effect only in the instance that they are in capable and dependable hands, if their study and the mastery of the methods of combat employment are combined with a further improving in the field, air and sea skills of the men, with the development of tactics and operational art and with the combat coordination of the subunits, units and ships."

Many factors influence the rise in military skill. Primarily these are the level and nature of the military equipment and military art, the methods and forms of conducting armed combat; the adopted system and methods of military and political training for the personnel; the state of the training facilities; the level of the professional skills of the command personnel, their ideological maturity and responsibility; finally, the level of the general and political development of the youth called up for military service.

In the seminar it is wise to review not only the generally recognized criteria for military skill but also the specific tasks involved in increasing the combat skill of the personnel in the given unit (ship) and assess the effectiveness of the training system existing here, the experience of the best educators and the course of the competition carried out under the motto "A New Level of Servicing for the New Equipment." It is important to draw the students' attention to the fact that at present each officer should also be an outstanding expert in his job and a skillful pedagogue capable of providing his subordinates with the advanced procedures for the operation and combat employment of modern equipment and teach them everything which could be needed in a war.

In describing morale as the third most important component in combat potential, it is essential to bear in mind that this is the active and effective side of all the spiritual forces of the Army and Navy which is "charged" for combat success, that is, the concentrated expression of the mobilizing role of communist ideology and the morality of people, their patriotism and internationalism, heroism and courage, discipline and comradeship. A socialist society has an enormous advantage over a capitalist one in the moral forces of the people and the army. However, the given advantage is not realized automatically under the conditions of a specific military collective. For this there must be active, purposeful activities by the commanders, political workers, the party and

Komsomol organizations. Unshakable morale is forged in the process of party political work with the personnel and their ideological, moral and psychological tempering.

Combat potential is the initial characteristic reflecting the present and maximum capabilities of the Armed Forces and the quantity of those material and spiritual elements of combat might which can be brought into action in the event of war. But how, with the aid of what "mechanism" can the possibility of action be turned into action itself? This is met by such a major characteristic of the Army and Navy as their combat readiness.

In discussing the second question, it is essential to bring out the essence and content of combat readiness, the basic demands on it and the nature of its link with the combat potential of the Armed Forces.

Combat readiness is the specific, actual state of the troops and naval forces as well as of each formation, unit and ship, defining the degree of their preparedness for action and for carrying out various combat tasks. In other words, combat readiness expresses the capacity of the army and navy to realize most rapidly and completely its combat potential for repelling possible aggression. This to a decisive degree depends upon the quality of the field, sea and air skills of the personnel, upon the degree to which they have mastered the weapons and combat equipment, upon the level of moral-political tempering, discipline and organization of the troops and naval forces and upon the art of their command and control.

The main indicators for combat readiness are the time (speed) and completeness of using the available capabilities. In this regard it is important to emphasize that the components of combat readiness are also components of combat potential taken in their complete volume and assessed from the viewpoint of developing their qualitative indicators as well as considering the time factor.

In defining the main areas for improving the combat readiness of the Armed Forces as a task of prime importance, our party and its Central Committee have proceeded from the view that under present-day conditions, combat readiness should not only be maintained on a high level but also constantly rise so that no surprises catch us off guard.

It is a question primarily of the increased aggressiveness of imperialism and the strengthening of its military preparations. At present, the probable enemy possesses means of destruction and has created groups of forces which are capable of initiating combat operations at any time. In the concepts for conducting a war adopted by the imperialist armies, emphasis has been placed on a surprise making of a "pre-emptive" attack calculated at capturing the strategic initiative. From this it follows that the attempt at a surprise attack by the aggressor must be countered not only by the corresponding means and methods of defense but also by more advanced combat readiness of our Armed Forces and by their ability in any situation to repel enemy strikes and deal it a decisive defeat.

The nature of the clash between the two opposing social systems and the complexity and acuteness of the international situation make it essential to determine

at a given moment the necessary degree of combat readiness in the Soviet Armed Forces on a statewide level. Thus, the USSR Constitution states that the duty of the Armed Forces to the people is to securely protect the socialist fatherland and to be in a constant combat readiness guaranteeing the immediate rebuff of any aggressor. The levels of combat readiness are marked by a rigid and closely-set regulation and these are determined for each level in the organizational structure of the Armed Forces and for each military collective. The processes of realizing the various degrees of combat readiness, the forms and methods of operations for the troops and naval forces, the mechanisms of warning and controlling them are clearly set out in the corresponding documents, that is, in the regulations, manuals, directives and orders.

Soviet military doctrine has a strictly defensive nature. In being guided by the interests of strengthening peace and international detente, our state has unilaterally assumed the obligation not to be the first to employ nuclear weapons. The adopting of such an obligation under the conditions of the unabating military preparations of the United States and its allies has objectively imposed rigid demands on further increasing the combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces, on their technical equipping, on improving control and communications and on strengthening the moral and political tempering of the men. "It is essential," emphasized the USSR Minister of Defense, Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, "that the impact of the surprise factor be minimized so that the aggressor is not seduced by being the first to use nuclear weapons with impunity. The highest combat readiness of all the services and branches of troops of the Soviet Armed Forces, outstanding combat skills and military expertise of each serviceman are the guarantee for the security of our motherland and a dependable protection for all the countries of the socialist commonwealth."

In discussing the third question, it is essential to proceed from the fact that combat readiness has a definite content for each level in the organizational structure of the Armed Forces. For this reason, the students' attention should be focused on those areas of improving the combat readiness of the units and ships which are in the competence of their command and can be realized using their own training facilities as well as by the efforts of the commanders and political workers, the party and Komsomol organizations and all the personnel.

The basic areas for increasing the combat readiness of the units and ships are directly tied to the tasks of combat and political training. Among them are: a thorough study of the TOE weapons and combat equipment, the working out of the methods of their effective employment under conditions close to combat; the development and strengthening of combat teamwork among the troop collectives; the shaping of high moral-political and psychological qualities in the personnel and so forth. Of particular significance for maintaining high and constant combat readiness are firm, conscientious discipline and unbreakable proper order.

In the course of the seminar there is an opportunity to thoroughly discuss all these problems and to assess the contribution of the commanders, the political workers, the party and Komsomol organizations to their successful carrying out. It is important to emphasize that there are no minor questions in ensuring combat readiness and any error or mistake in a combat situation, as a rule, is

paid for in blood. Whatever post has been entrusted to a man, he should be constantly concerned with the thought: is he able, is he ready to immediately carry out a combat order? Has he done everything so that the subunit, unit or ship successfully carries out the tasks? Complacency and indifference in the questions of combat readiness cannot be tolerated.

V. I. Lenin taught that "strengthened military preparations for a major war requires not a rush, not shouting and not a combat slogan, but rather protracted, intense, very stubborn and disciplined work..." (PSS, Vol 36, p 325). A focus on deeds and not on loud words--this is the demand of the party which has direct bearing also on carrying out the tasks of combat readiness. Proper combat readiness can be ensured only by hard work and only by unceasing movement ahead, from each won line to the next, higher one.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL PREPARATION OF SERVICEMEN FOR MODERN WAR

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 8, Apr 83 (signed to press 4 Apr 83) pp 41-47

[Article by Lt Gen Avn P. Khatylev, deputy commander for military training of the Order of Lenin Moscow Air Defense District: "An Indispensable Condition of Combat Readiness"]

[Text] The nighttime tactical exercise was dynamic and intense. Initially the air "enemy" tried to hit the installation being covered as a group, by a massed attack. Then, when the missile troops had repelled the raid, it altered its tactics. Appearing on the screens of the guidance radars were individual, basically low-flying targets coming in from different directions. Jamming was intensified in all the frequency bands.

The situation was further complicated when the input was announced of the "enemy's" use of weapons of mass destruction and the breaking out of fires near the launchers and guidance stations. All of this created a situation which was as close as possible to actual combat.

The men in the launching battery under the command of the communist, Guards Maj A. Kosarev, were well prepared for such abrupt changes in nighttime "combat." The unexpected development of events in the exercise did not disrupt the specialists from their set pace. Without confusion and error, they adjusted to the inputs and carried out the instructions and orders. For instance, in working virtually in complete darkness, the crews under the command of Guards Sr Sgt A. Klimyavichuk and Guards Jr Sgt A. Shebunov readied the launchers for launching the missiles, in noticeably surpassing the daytime standards. Just as skillfully and nimbly the operators of the guidance stations eliminated the interference, they isolated the main, most dangerous targets and gave their precise coordinates. The battery commander and the other officers correctly assessed the situation and promptly took the correct decisions to fire on the targets before they entered the zone for the effective employment of their weapons. To put it briefly, the subunit personnel effectively carried out a difficult combat training task and merited its outstanding grade. The missile troops achieved success under such difficult conditions due not only to their professional skill but also to their good moral-political and psychological conditioning.

In his speech at a meeting of the party aktiv from the Moscow Military District, the USSR Minister of Defense, Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, in speaking of the need to teach the troops what is needed in a war, emphasized: "A war under present-day conditions places incomparably higher demands on the men than all the previous ones. It demands skilled actions on the battlefield under the conditions of the enemy's employment of weapons of mass destruction and other powerful means of fire, the capacity to endure enormous spiritual and physical stress and high psychological stability...."

High moral-political and psychological training of the personnel is an indispensable condition for the combat readiness of the units and subunits, and is that area of the training and indoctrinational process where, certainly, as in other areas, oversimplification and weaknesses are inadmissible and where nothing must be relegated to the background or left for tomorrow.

The moral-political and psychological training of the servicemen is a broad concept which includes four basic areas of activity for the commanders and political workers, the party and Komsomol organizations in indoctrinating high moral-political, professional-combat, psychological and physical qualities in the men. These areas are interrelated and complement one another. At the same time, each of them has its own characteristic features. What are these?

Moral-political qualities, as a rule, reflect the soldier's ideology, ideals and social interests, his feelings of duty, honor, collectivism, Soviet patriotism and Soviet internationalism, and a personal responsibility for defending his fatherland and the victory of socialism. The indoctrinating primarily these qualities in the defenders of the Soviet motherland comprises the basis of all of their preparation for conducting modern combat.

The professional combat qualities, in turn, reflect the level of the men's preparedness to skillfully employ the military equipment and weapons. Their formation involves the acquiring by the personnel of high military skill, combat abilities, a profound knowledge of the modern equipment and weapons, the development of tactical and technical thinking, combat activeness and an offensive spirit as well as the indoctrinating of discipline, pride for one's profession and a love of military affairs.

The psychological preparation of the men for combat operations is aimed at developing their perception, reaction speed and accuracy, emotional and volitional stability and at indoctrinating initiative, purposefulness, courage, steadfastness, self-possession, decisiveness and a readiness for self-sacrifice.

Undoubtedly the central place in the moral-political and psychological training is held by a further rise in ideological conditioning and a deepening of the communist conviction of each officer and warrant officer ["praporshchik"], each soldier and sergeant. For there is and cannot be a stronger foundation for victory in combat than a soldier's understanding of the rectitude of the cause defended by him and his faith in the strength of the socialist system and his people.

The experience of the Great Patriotic War provides many examples of the fact that combat for the sake of defending the beloved fatherland by itself instills

in the men high moral-combat qualities and tempers them morally and spiritually. At present, in peacetime it is impossible to fully simulate real combat in an exercise or drill. It is all the more obvious that we must increase both the effectiveness of the ideological-political, military and moral indoctrination as well as the indoctrinational return from each alert duty, exercise, training and each drill.

It is essential to point out that the district command and political personnel is becoming more and more aware of this necessity and this has also been aided by the purposeful work conducted by the military council, the political directorate and staff of the district with the various officer categories. In particular, a positive role has been played by the practical scientific conference held before the start of the training year on the problems of the moral-political and psychological training of the personnel. Also very important is the fact that the exercises in the system of Marxist-Leninist and commander training regularly take up the questions concerning the real military danger from imperialism, the social nature and particular features of nuclear missile warfare, the speed, dynamicness and intensity of modern air defense combat and its enormous moral and physical stresses. An understanding of the immutable truth that combat readiness to immediately repel a possible enemy surprise attack should be constant and the highest has impelled the commanders, the political workers and the staff officers to improve the training and indoctrinational process in the aim of thoroughly preparing the personnel, including in moral-political and psychological terms.

In the district's units a great deal is being done to explain to the men party policy and the decisions of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, for unmasking the feverish aggressive preparations by imperialism and for indoctrinating on this basis an acute feeling of personal responsibility on the part of each defender of the motherland's skies for ensuring its safety. The questions of moral and political tempering of the men have begun to be more fully considered in party political work, in military technical propaganda and in the process of combat training. And this has brought real results. The district personnel, in taking an active part in the socialist competition under the motto "To Increase Vigilance and to Securely Ensure the Safety of the Motherland!" is hard at work improving their military skill and developing in themselves all the qualities and habits necessary for achieving victory in modern combat. The struggle of the men for the exemplary standing of alert duty has become widespread as well as the struggle for the more profound mastery of new equipment, the maximum utilization of the combat capabilities of modern weapons and for hitting targets at maximum ranges on the first launch, round or run under the most difficult situation.

Since in a magazine article it is impossible to even sketch out all the aspects of the designated problem, I would like to take up in more detail just one facet of it. Namely the shaping of high moral-political and psychological qualities in the men in the course of combat training.

In accord with the demands of the USSR minister of defense, the commanders, staffs and political bodies have adopted measures so that the exercises, flights, training and drills are carried out in a situation as close as possible to actual combat. Combat training is organized so that the moral-political and

psychological readiness of the men for combat is based upon a profound understanding of the essence and importance of any combat task set for them, upon a knowledge of the exact sequence of forthcoming actions, confidence in victory and a firm conviction to carry out the order whatever the cost. This is achieved by a rationally planned and executed range of measures encompassing the training of the men and the preparation of the equipment, the well-thought-out organization of the exercises, training and drills under a difficult tactical situation and by effective party political work.

Readiness for combat cannot be instilled except through the overcoming of difficulties, by familiarizing the officers, warrant officers, sergeants and soldiers with nonstandard situations which include elements of reasonable risk, by high moral and psychological stress and physical strain. This is why the unit and subunit commanders endeavor to organize and conduct daily training in such a manner so as not only to work through the standards and procedures of combat but also to effectively temper the will of the men and develop in them high combat activeness and a conscientious attitude toward carrying out military duty.

Two-sided drills for the command posts and combat crews are one of the ways by which the qualities and habits needed in actual combat are developed. These are conducted in close connection to the tactical, special and technical training of the personnel. Their basic content is to work out various, most effective means and methods for repelling enemy air strikes against the covered installations. Here, along with carrying out general tasks in the command and control of combat, the practical skills for the combat work of the launch and technical subunits are worked out.

In my view, the giving of a combined-arms focus to all combat training is an exceptionally important aspect in the training and indoctrination process, contributing to the moral and psychological conditioning of the personnel. Here the idea is: in actual combat one must act not under ideal conditions when, for instance, the missile troops will only be concerned with their job. For example, fire strikes and an attack by enemy airborne groups can prevent the carrying out of the basic task. In such instances the ability to hold the defenses and a knowledge of the tactics of combined-arms combat are indispensable for the air defense specialists.

All of this is taken fully into account in the unit where Officer V. Derevenskiy serves. Recently a senior chief conducted inspection drills here. The situation was a difficult and abruptly changing one. Yet none of the crew members failed to show knowledge and skills. The military skill and the moral-psychological training of the men were given a high grade.

How did the personnel arrive at such a success? Through the efforts of the commander and the staff, with active support from the communists, the training launching position in the unit was turned into a single installation which simulated the battlefield well. Next to the firing position they set up a fire area, a shooting range and a combined obstacle zone, artificial rubble was created and a powerful radio which reproduced the audio picture of combat was installed.

In assessing all of this, it is not difficult to imagine what an abundance of inputs there could be in training combat and how many different situations could be created by the exercise leader, in making them more complex and bringing the situation closer to actual combat.

We were able to be convinced of the effectiveness of the improved position with our own eyes at a tactical exercise conducted in the unit. But not everything went smoothly. For this reason we should first mention a brief conversation which we had with Officer Derevenskiy on the evening before the exercise. He was asked:

"The subunits have been training at the launching position for some time. Maybe the troops will not be surprised by anything. Are they really ready for all surprises and difficulties?"

"We have thought about this," replied Derevenskiy. "And we have something up our sleeve...."

As was disclosed by further conversation, the commander, the staff officers and the party activists had put their heads together. It was decided to make up a small group from soldiers and sergeants of the support subunit and during the most intense moment of "combat" this group would play the role of an "enemy" assault party. The goal was set of increasing the moral and psychological stress on the personnel by the surprise of the attack.

The "enemy" assault troops made a bold surprise attack and thus succeeded in "knocking out" several crews. Similar inputs, in truth, had also been employed before. But without the simulating of explosions and fires and without the firing of blank cartridges and a specifically attacking force. In a word, this time everything was like in real combat. Yet the task set by the commander was still carried out by the missile troops. Due to the interchangeability developed between the crews, and to the fact that the men had good combined-arms training.

The tactical exercise was subjected to a detailed analysis at a meeting of the unit's officers. They discussed the effective psychological impact of such procedures and the need to increase the skill of the missile troops in firing their personal weapons and the ability of the commanders to organize all-round defense.

The party activists also spotted the minuses and their work. The complicating of the training process required from them greater efficiency and the use of new forms of political influence on the men with a sharp shortage of time.

Many units in our district are conducting a creative search for ways to bring training closer to combat reality. Peace by peace, the commanders and political workers and the party aktiv are gaining practical experience which is being generalized and disseminated. For example, in the unit where the communist Ye. Petrov serves, they have followed the following methods to give complexity and dynamicness to the tactical exercises. They planned the joint holding of exercises with the adjacent paratrooper regiment.. Thus, an intense, abruptly changing situation was created. The landing troops, in working out their

training tasks, showed cleverness and adroitness and acted covertly to capture the missile position and command post by surprise. The missile troops, in repelling their attack, at the same time carried out their main task of dependably covering the defended installation from air attack. The exercise was beneficial to the men of the different branches of troops.

In this context we would again emphasize that the missile troops, like, incidentally, all the air defense personnel, must prepare themselves for combat under special conditions. One of the particular features is that, in carrying out the mission, the operators, guidance officers and launchers do not see the real enemy but are concerned with blips on screens. For this reason, in giving a combined-arms focus to combat training and in using other forms and methods for making the combat training situations more complex, it is possible to develop in the men a notion of the difficulties in real combat actions. And this impels them to be vigilant, resourceful and ready for any eventuality.

Nighttime training holds an important place in developing psychological strength in the men. As is known, the personnel of the Air Defense Troops are on alert duty around-the-clock and, consequently, should maintain the capacity to work and be able to act effectively and decisively both during the day and at night. For this reason, those commanders and staffs act correctly when they conduct a significant portion of the exercises and training envisaged by the programs at night.

For example, positive experience in this area has been acquired by the unit where Officer V. Golubov serves. Here each nighttime exercise and drill is thought out ahead of time, the necessary moral and psychological mood is created among the men of the combat crews and tasks are given for the party and Komsomol aktiv. The commander, his deputy for political affairs and the subunit commanders, in planning nighttime training, take into account many aspects; for example, the fact that during the winter training period darkness falls earlier and the exercises would sooner be not nighttime, but rather evening when some would still not be tired. And they decided to hold the nighttime exercises after taps.

It must be said that this psychological complication did not immediately prove effective. The efficiency of the men declined somewhat late at night as attention was dulled and responses to abrupt changes in the situation were worse.... But in the troop collective all these problems were approached conscientiously and in some time the desired effect was achieved: the nighttime tactical exercises and drills began to be conducted in the stipulated pace. Having become accustomed to the complications, the men acquired the ability to surmount the difficulties without harming the quality of combat training.

Of course, not just the changing of the time for starting the night exercises played a role here. In line with the making of adjustments in combat training, the political workers, the party and Komsomol activists intensified the ideological influence and emphasized the personal example of the communists and Komsomol members in steadily overcoming the difficulties. In party political work, there came to predominate personal contacts between the commanders and political workers with their subordinates, the up-to-date informing of the men about the results of the competition between the subunits, crews and individual

specialists and talks on increasing vigilance and readiness to immediately engage in battle.

Unfortunately, such an attitude toward nighttime training has not yet become established in all the units and subunits of our district. Instances have come up where the commanders, in organizing night exercises, consciously sought to make them simpler. This probably was done in the search for "high" results of military service. Such a desire for easy success harms the cause of combat readiness since it creates among the personnel an incorrect notion of the nature of modern combat. The senior chiefs and party organizations should deal strictly with even the slightest weaknesses when it is a question of the most important thing, that is, increasing combat readiness.

There is no doubt about it, good physical conditioning is also essential for successful actions under conditions of high stress and the constant moral and psychological pressure on the air defense troops. Proceeding from this, in a predominant majority of the district units and subunits, all exercises for physical training and morning physical exercises are conducted considering the specific features of the specialists' jobs on the equipment. For instance, in exercises for the operators of guidance stations the combat training of whom involves little mobility, preference is given to gymnastic exercises and sports games which demand great mobility. In the physical training for men operating the launching units which require strength, endurance and agility in combat, there is a predominance of cross-country races, weight lifting and so forth.

What does such a differentiation provide? First of all, the high physical endurance of the specialists combined with their firm professional knowledge and skills makes it possible for the commander to conduct tactical exercises, training and drills under maximum complex conditions and achieve stable good and excellent results. This is indicative, for example, of all the subunits in the unit where the communist, Officer Yu. Rulevskiy serves. Here the physical training of the personnel has become a dependable support for the commanders and political workers, for the party organization in the struggle for high moral-combat qualities of the missile troops.

In forming the moral-combat stability of the men, a significant role is played by achieving psychological compatibility in the collectives. For carrying out this task, the commanders must know the individual qualities and character traits of each man and consider these in making up the combat crews. The party and Komsomol organizations should provide great help to the commanders and political workers both in studying the men as well as in uniting the collectives, preventing psychological conflicts and creating a good moral atmosphere in the crews, batteries and battalions.

Incidentally, the achieving of psychological compatibility is exactly that problem a solution to which has not been given sufficient attention in certain units and subunits of our district as well as to its importance which has increased under the conditions of modern combat. For example, this important question has not always been approached with a high sense of responsibility in the unit where Officer N. Kosolapkin serves. The party organizations also do not everywhere pay proper attention to it.

All the best and advanced that has been acquired in instilling in the men stable moral-political and psychological qualities and in improving the entire process of preparing the personnel for modern combat has been regularly analyzed by the officers of the district staff and political directorate and made available to the units. This experience is also valuable in the fact that it is constantly put into practice. Recently, a nighttime demonstration tactical exercise with field firing was conducted for the unit and subunit commanders, drawing on the unit where Officer N. Dvuglov serves. The missile troops had to act in virtually complete darkness, under conditions of continuously received inputs with the broad use of simulation. All the subunits successfully carried out the task and received high grades. Among the officers present at the demonstration exercise there may have been a doubt that the high results were achieved by reducing the quality of combat training. But a careful analysis of the actions of each battery and each crew showed that the success was based upon skill and high moral-psychological tempering of the specialists as acquired in the course of exercises, training and drills which were close to conditions of real combat.

Seemingly the unit and subunit commanders not only heard, but actually saw the advantages of the effective procedure for organizing training ensuring that the men acquire combat skill and the moral-combat and psychological qualities needed for victory in combat. However, the new and the useful is not adopted and introduced simply or all at once. In some one could feel an attachment to the customary, the well tested and generally not contradictory to the requirements of the instructions on one or another question of combat training. Others were impeded by a reticence to trouble themselves with additional concerns inevitable in studying and introducing something new in the procedure for organizing the training process. And ultimately the interests of the job suffered from this.

Hence, we, the communist leaders, are not always principled, consistent and determined in making advanced experience gain ever-greater followers and become, as V. I. Lenin taught, initially something propagandized and then an obligatorily introduced example for organizing social labor. As was already pointed out above, not all commanders, staffs, political bodies and party organizations everywhere act implacably and with party acuteness against weaknesses and oversimplification in combat training which have a negative impact on the thorough preparedness of the personnel for modern combat.

From all that has been said, the conclusion follows that in relying on the positive which has been acquired in the advanced units in the area of the moral-political and psychological tempering of the men and in taking the most decisive measures to eliminate the still-existing shortcomings, we must continue to improve work in this important area. We must seek out and put to work the unused reserves and opportunities and not forget either for a day or even a minute that high troop morale is an indispensable condition for constant combat readiness.

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DEVELOPMENT OF 'SOVIET NATIONAL PRIDE' DISCUSSED

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[Article by Guards Maj V. Shalak, deputy regiment commander for political affairs: "In a Spirit of National Soviet Pride"]

[Text] The regimental club was holding a concert of amateur artistic activity devoted to the 60th anniversary to the formation of the USSR. The auditorium was completely full, as they say, with standing room only. Men from different nationalities were presenting the culture of their people, republic, kray and oblast. From the stage came the songs, music and verses of all the 15 Union republics. They were supplemented by dances, literary selections, humor and selections from films of the nation's various movie studios. Literally each selection in the concert was awarded with stormy applause from the spectators, although the members of the strict jury knitted their brows as according to the contest conditions there was to be no applause. But in the auditorium there was no indifference. The men earnestly supported their comrades.

Senior Sgt Givi Tukhashvili, in quietly commenting on one or another piece, repeatedly said to his friends from the other subunits: "Good, isn't it? That is from our battery!" And amazed pride could be heard in his voice as his comrade, a member of the close family of artillery troops in which he had served for a year performed so miraculously. Of course, Tukhashvili was not unmoved when his fellow countrymen danced a Georgian dance on the stage. And again came the proud voice: "Good, isn't it? They only dance like that in our Georgia!"

At the end of the concert, the composite chorus of participants in the amateur performance began to sing "Broad is Our Motherland...."

The second line of the couplet was taken up by the first rows, the third was sung by the back half, and starting with the fourth, the entire audience was on its feet singing, all the spectators, all the regiment in which men of 26 nationalities and representatives of all the Union republics serve.

Even this simple example from the life of our unit is clearly persuasive of what an important role is played by the Soviet Armed Forces in indoctrinating the youth in a spirit of national Soviet pride and in forming feelings of

fraternal friendship among the men of different nationalities. Also excitedly voicing their ideas on the concert were the Moldavian Pvt V. Muntyan, the Belorussian Pvt B. Kremenevskiy, the Uzbek Jr Sgt S. Salakhov, the Tatar Sgt R. Galiskarov and others. Their common opinion was they were proud of the art and culture of all the nations!

It was pleasant to hear these words. Our nation was approaching its glorious jubilee. And precisely during this period the bourgeois ideologists were conducting intense propaganda aimed against the Leninist policy of the CPSU, at undermining the trust and friendship between the peoples of our nation and at fanning nationalistic views. Our ideological enemies have endeavored to drive a wedge of national discord between the peoples inhabiting our great multinational motherland since October 1917. But all their improper attempts have been and are in vain. Whatever refined stratagems, fabrications and falsifications the anticommunists have resorted to in the area of internationality relations in the USSR and regardless of how they arrayed themselves, ultimately all their intrigues suffered a complete defeat. And one explanation lies behind this. With their mother's milk the Soviet people imbibe an inviolable principle in our life: each man is the other's friend, comrade and brother regardless of what language he speaks and what is the color of his skin.

In the heart of each of us there lives a bright feeling of affection for that fond corner of the world where we were born and grew up. Wherever the fate of a Soviet man takes him, this feeling does not abandon him. But under the conditions of our society, this is not something separate but rather organically merges with a feeling of great affection for our fatherland, the USSR. A feeling of a single motherland, for the great community of our 270-million-strong people which bring together more than 100 nations and nationalities of the country gives rise to national pride among the Soviet people. We are proud of our socialist motherland, its heroic history, its most progressive social and state system, the great unbreakable friendship of peoples, of our Communist Party which is leading the nation along the true Leninist path. We are proud of the creative activities of the party and the people and of the fact that the USSR has built a developed socialist society, as present the highest achievement in social progress.

Our love for the motherland and pride for its victories and accomplishments have nothing in common with the wild ideas about the superiority of some peoples over others, of national or racial exclusiveness as disseminated by bourgeois ideologists. The Soviet people are internationalists. They live in a single friendly, multinational family. They rejoice equally in the successes and achievements by the workers of any Union or autonomous republic.

Let us recall the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow. Who of us then thought that a Russian, Ukrainian, Uzbek, Kazakh or Estonian was standing on the winner's box? First of all, there was the thought: "Our victory! A record setter, our Soviet man!" And only then were we proud of the fact that a representative of one or another republic, kray or oblast had made a worthy contribution to the victory of Soviet sports.

A feeling of nation-wide Soviet pride is profoundly inherent to the men of the Armed Forces. Our army is a true school of internationalism and a school for

indoctrinating fraternity, solidarity and mutual respect among all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union.

Since the first days of its existence, our army has been a living embodiment of socialist internationalism. This is quite natural as its very purpose of defending the Soviet nation and the victories of socialism is a profoundly international one. In the crucible of battles for Soviet power, V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party created the closest fighting alliance of the Soviet republics and a multinational military organization in the form of a new, socialist type of army. In fighting in its ranks, the men from all nations and nationalities of our country by their blood linked up the ties of fraternity and gained noteworthy tempering as convinced internationalists.

The internationalist qualities of the Soviet soldiers were particularly apparent and became further strengthened during the period of the heroic struggle against German fascism. "During the harsh years of the Great Patriotic War," states the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 60th Anniversary of the USSR," "the fraternal peoples, shoulder to shoulder, came to the defense of the motherland, they evidenced mass heroism and an unswerving will for victory, they routed the Nazi invaders and saved the peoples of the world from enslavement and destruction." All the nationalities and nations of the Soviet Union contributed to our victory. The Soviet Armed Forces emerged from the clash with fascism as an even more united, multinational fighting family. The traditions of fraternity and comradeship established by the frontline veterans are now being continued by the soldiers, sergeants, warrant officers ["praporshchik"] and officers of the 1980's.

All our socialist reality and our entire way of life contribute to indoctrinating the servicemen in a spirit of patriotism and socialist internationalism, friendship and fraternity of the Soviet peoples and in a spirit of national Soviet pride. At the same time the indoctrinating of a love for the fatherland, a pride in the Soviet nation and a readiness at any moment to come to the defense of socialist victories are one of the most important tasks in the ideological work of the Armed Forces. The command, the party and Komsomol organizations of our regiment pay constant attention to the carrying out of this task. Work in this area picked up particularly during the period of preparing for and celebrating the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. We are endeavoring to preserve and add to the positive experience acquired during this period.

Considering that political maturity and the communist conviction of the men comprise the basis of political self-awareness, we have shown constant concern for improving the quality and effectiveness of all forms of political studies for the personnel. In political exercises, political information sessions, lectures and talks conducted most often directly in the subunits, the policy of our party and the Soviet state is explained thoroughly to the men and the enormous strength and triumph of communist ideals are demonstrated in specific facts and examples. The personnel has been completely informed about the life of the nation, about the nation-wide struggle to carry out the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the May and November (1982) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and on the successes of the Union and autonomous republics, oblasts

and krays from whence the men have been called up for service. In indoctrinational work extensive use is made of the Report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, "Sixty Years of the USSR" and other documents of the ceremony in Moscow devoted to the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR.

In the diversity of the forms and methods of patriotic indoctrination for the men, a special place is held by political exercises. The very subjects of the training plans show this. For example, all categories of personnel have studied the subject "An Unbreakable Union of Free Republics." In addition, the warrant officers have studied the subject "The 26th CPSU Congress on Indoctrinating the Soviet People, the Army and Navy Personnel in a Spirit of Soviet Patriotism and Socialist Internationalism." The study of the section "Our Goal is Communism," at the political exercises has provided broad opportunities for patriotic indoctrination.

The basic burden in indoctrinating the students rests on the shoulders of the leaders of the political exercise groups. Success in the matter depends largely upon their ability to correctly organize a lecture or narration, a seminar or talk, upon their erudition and educational skills. For this reason, at one of the seminars with the non-T/O propagandists, there was a special discussion of the question of the better utilizing of political exercises for indoctrinating the men in a spirit of the friendship of Soviet peoples, military comradeship and pride in belonging to the Soviet Armed Forces. This told positively on the quality of the exercises. They became more informative and interesting. The group leaders and the students themselves began to give more vivid and persuasive examples and facts showing the flourishing of the Union republics over the 60 years and their successes in carrying out the plans of the 11th Five-Year Plan. But still certain group leaders did not always succeed in organizing the exercises skillfully or directly the comments of the students in the required way.

In one of the exercises on the subject "An Unbreakable Union of Free Republics" a member of the regimental party committee, Capt S. Chemodurov, was present in the group of Sr Lt A. Tkachenko. He drew the group leader's attention to the fact that certain students showed a one-sided approach to describing achievements in the economic development of their republics. For example, Pvt A. Abdulayev, in describing the successes of Azerbaijan, provided numerous figures in confirmation but did not say a single word about the fact that these successes were possible due to the fraternal mutual aid of all the Union republics. The group leader did not make up for this, and did not emphasize that the great advances which had been achieved by Azerbaijan and the peoples of the other previously economically backward republics would have been inconceivable without their joining into the single mighty Soviet Union and without the providing of mutual fraternal aid to one another.

Similar shortcomings also occurred in the groups of Lts A. Kardashov and A. Ipatov and Sr Lt Yu. Rogachev. It was necessary not only to point out the oversights to these comrades but also analyze the question of the development of the single national economic complex, the material basis for the fraternal friendship of the Soviet peoples, with all the propagandists at the next seminar.

The discussion of this question was continued at a session of the regiment's agitation and propaganda group. It was decided that in addition a series of lectures and reports would be given in the subunits to explain the successes of the Union republics in communist construction. Such speeches were soon held.

Particularly successful was the speech by the member of the agitation-propaganda group, Maj G. Derevyanko. He was able to find vivid examples of fraternal friendship and mutual aid among the Union republics and pointed out that their close economic cooperation has a beneficial effect on successes in the economic development of the entire state. All that is presently produced in our multinational country embodies the aggregate labor of all members of Soviet society. Thus, the material production of Kazakhstan employs the products from 96 sectors of other regions of the nation. At the same time, Kazakhstan delivers its products to 74 sectors in the economy of the other republics. Moldavia receives the products of 93 sectors from 14 republics, in turn shipping them products of 72 sectors. Deliveries to Georgia are made by 100 sectors of all the Union republics while 82 sectors of these republics receive products from Georgia. The close cooperation of all the nations and nationalities in our country can also be seen by data given by the propagandist. The Kremenchug GES in the Ukraine, for example, was built by the representatives from 41 nationalities while the equipment for it was delivered by 820 enterprises from 12 Union republics. The Moldavian GRES was elected by the representatives of 35 nationalities and the Krasnoyarsk GES by 53. The Baykal-Amur Mainline is being built by the representatives of 80 nations and nationalities from our country.

The familiarizing of the men with the nation's economy which is being developed according to a single national economic plan in close collaboration and with the fraternal mutual aid of all the nations and nationalities strengthens their noble feeling of the great commonwealth of Soviet peoples and the feeling of a unified motherland and increases their awareness of being involved in all the accomplishments of their people and responsibility for securely defending its interests.

One form of political indoctrination which proved effective was the evenings or talks in front of the motherland's map. These are conducted differently in the subunits. In one the evening was devoted completely to a republic and in another one or two questions were examined involving the development of all the republics and the Soviet Union as a whole. Men of different nationalities participated in the conducting of such evenings. Usually such an interesting and authoritative discussion covered all members of one or another military collective. It often happened that the ending of one evening served as the beginning and continuation of another.

In the interests of patriotic indoctrination we widely propagandize the glorious military traditions of the Soviet Armed Forces and our formation and unit, we popularize the heroes of the Great Patriotic War and their feats for the sake of the motherland, we organize meetings and correspondence with veterans and conduct lessons of courage, excursions to museums and visits to places where battles occurred.

The men will long remember a meeting with regiment veterans dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the breaking of the Leningrad blockade. This was attended

by over 70 soldiers, sergeants and officers who were in the reserves or retired and represented 12 nationalities. They spoke ardently and with inspiration about the former battles, about their frontline friends and about the fraternal friendship of peoples forged in the fire of battle. Certain veterans fought in the regiment from the very outset of the Great Patriotic War and they well remember all the fierce battles and many fellow servicemen. MSgt I. Litvinenko was an artillery spotter and in charge of a battery. He fought bravely against the hated enemy. The motherland awarded his bravery and courage with many state decorations, including five medals "For Valor." Ivan Stepanovich [Litvinenko] was a member of the Victory Parade in June 1945. However, the honored veteran in his recollections spoke less about himself and more about his frontline friends, the Russian P. Shelkovnikov, the Ukrainian I. Sorochenko, the Belorussian N. Lepeshko and others.

There are many other forms and means in political indoctrination to develop national Soviet pride among the personnel. In particular, we endeavor that the men know more about the successes of the republic, kray and oblast from which they were called up into the army. For this purpose we use meetings, the correspondence with the parents of soldiers and sergeants, the articles in newspapers and magazines, radio and television. For example, Sr Sgt N. Kokhodze returned from a brief leave. "How are things at home? What is new in Kutaisi?" came the questions. Nugzar [Kokhodze] thoroughly described to his service comrades both Kutaisi, the diesel locomotive building plant where he had been employed prior to induction into the army and the successes of Georgia during the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Our soldiers and sergeants can learn about the great and minor affairs of their republic, the successes of fellow countrymen and the news of culture and art from newspapers in the national languages of seven Union republics; these are received daily by our library. Together with the political section of the formation, we first analyze where the new recruits will come from and after this subscribe to the republic newspapers. This brings a good deal of benefit. In the library the men can not only read newspapers, but also obtain a book by their favorite national minority writer in Russian.

We must also say a special word about what we are doing in the area of the study of Russian by the men who have a poor mastery of it. For our multinational army a knowledge of Russian is of enormous significance. It helps to surmount the language barrier and helps to bring the servicemen of different nationalities closer together, to unite the friendly military collectives and instill in the personnel a feeling of a united military family. A poor knowledge of the language and a sparse vocabulary gives rise to a feeling of diffidence, a lack of confidence and indecisiveness in the young soldier. At first there is a certain separation or isolation of the men along linguistic lines. But then the commanders and service comrades lend a hand. Our library is also of important significance in this area.

In all the subunits of our regiment there are circles for the study of Russian and mutual aid has been organized between the soldiers. For example, in the battery under the command of Capt Yu. Baruzdin, Pvt A. Mikhaylov is helping the Kazakh, Pvt A. Kasybayev in combat training as up to now the soldier has done poorly in a number of subjects because of his bad knowledge of Russian. The

soldiers read newspapers, books and textbooks together and prepare for exercises. This has provided positive results.

In this context we would like to take up the following fact. The role played by the junior commanders in the training and indoctrination of the soldiers is well known. We endeavor to do everything so that the young soldiers see in their squad or crew commander not only their immediate superior but also a senior comrade and friend. In knowing from where the inductees will come, the unit commander and his deputy for political affairs together with the party and Komsomol committees of the regiment, select and place with the subunits sergeants who know two or three languages of the Soviet people. Our junior commanders represent 15 nationalities.

In indoctrinating in the men an ardent love for the socialist fatherland and a pride for its great accomplishments, we make every effort so that these high patriotic feelings are reflected in their practical affairs, that is, in unstinting military service for the sake of the good and happiness of the homeland and in the name of the triumph of communism. The regiment personnel, like all the men of the Armed Forces, breathe the same breath and have the same interests as their motherland and their people and see their main task in constantly increasing vigilance and combat readiness to defend the victories of socialism. This has assumed particularly great significance under the conditions of the present exacerbated international situation, where the forces of imperialism are increasing tension, intensifying the arms race and threatening nuclear war.

According to the results of the last training year, one out of every three men in our regiment became an outstanding man in military and political training, 95 percent of the personnel are class specialists and 80 percent are rated athletes. Having actively joined the socialist competition under the motto "Increase Vigilance and Firmly Ensure the Safety of the Motherland!" the soldiers, sergeants, warrant officers and officers in the regiment are constantly working for high results in military and political training and are endeavoring to master the equipment and weapons and become higher class specialists. The communists and Komsomol members are in the front ranks of the competitors.

Instilled in a spirit of wholehearted love for the socialist motherland and national Soviet pride, our men are well aware of their personal responsibility for the security of the motherland of October and for protecting the victories of socialism. They are always ready with dignity and honor to carry out their patriotic and international duty.

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OUTLINE LECTURE ON IMPORTANCE OF MILITARY LABOR

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 8, Apr 83 (signed to press 4 Apr 83) pp 71-77

[Article by Capt 1st Rank V. Tkachev: "Labor for the Sake of the Motherland's Might*"]

[Text] The educational goal for the political exercises on this subject is to disclose to the men why at the present stage of communist construction, by the will of the party and the people, a conscientious attitude toward labor, thriftiness and savings have been elevated to the rank of primary socioeconomic tasks. It is important to help the students more profoundly understand the role and importance of conscientious, unstinting labor in further strengthening the economic and defense might of our motherland and to better grasp the social importance and specific features of military service and the necessity of a thrifty attitude toward socialist property, the public good and military property. Ultimately, it is to develop in the soldiers and sailors a desire in an exemplary manner to carry out their military duty and by daily industrious service to make a contribution to ensuring the safety of the country and raise the combat readiness of the Armed Forces.

In considering the circumstance that new recruits have arrived in the subunits, units and ships, it is advisable to conduct the exercise in the form of a lecture and lively discussion and to divide the 6 hours assigned for this evenly, that is, 2 hours for the lecture, 2 for the independent preparation and 2 for the discussion. In the lecture the group leader should focus attention on bringing out the following basic questions: 1. V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on a communist attitude toward labor. 2. The importance and particular features of the military service of Soviet troops. 3. To protect socialist property, military and public property.

In a brief introduction it is advisable to remind the men that this morning their fathers and mothers, like millions of Soviet people, were arriving at their jobs. They grow bread, cast steel, produce oil, gas and coal, erect new

* Material for political exercises on the subject "To Show a Conscientious Attitude Toward Military Labor, To Protect Military and Public Property."

enterprises and housing and solve scientific problems. All our people is enthusiastically at work in carrying out the historic plans of the 26th Party Congress, the decisions of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the quotas of the third, crucial year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Under the tested leadership of the Leninist party, the heroic labor of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia is multiplying the material and spiritual wealth as well as the possibilities of a developed socialist society to satisfy the needs of the people.

The workers of the city and countryside are perfectly aware that the better they work and the more efficiently and carefully they employ all that our national economy possesses the better they will live and the stronger and more beautiful the Soviet nation will become. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, the Soviet people look with confidence at tomorrow. But their optimism is not the complacency of a minion of fate. Our people know that all that they have has been created by their labor and protected by their own blood.

The construction of communism and its secure defense, particularly under present-day conditions with the growing real military danger from imperialism, is a biune task. For this reason the labor of the Soviet military is organically fused with the creative activities of the people. In carrying out the complex and difficult tasks of ensuring the motherland's security, the personnel of the Armed Forces are doing a job of state importance which is essential to all society.

1. V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on the Communist Attitude Toward Labor

In beginning to take up this question, the group leader should say that labor, according to the definition of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, is the first and basic condition for the existence of mankind and the most important form of human activity. "All that is essential for the life and development of people," as was pointed out in the CPSU Program, "is created by labor." At the same time, the physical and spiritual abilities of man are developed in the labor process. Consequently, labor is not only a means for obtaining the necessary goods of life but also a method by which a person, in transforming nature, also transforms himself and establishes himself as an individual. During all times working people have been proud of their professional skill and the creation of their mind and hands and have passed from generation to generation the ability, skills and experience.

However, it is possible to correctly understand the social essence of labor only in specific historical forms of its manifestation. In an exploiting society, where the means of production are in the hands of the ruling class, for a majority of the simple people labor has been and remains a forced method of securing the means for existence, a heavy burden which dulls and suppresses their creative abilities and gifts. Thus, under capitalism, in order to survive and support a family, a man must sell his working strength, his capacity and ability to work to the owner of the mill, plant, mine or farm.... Here a goodly portion of the results of his labor and the produced goods is appropriated by the owner. Upon the will or, more accurately, upon the arbitrariness of the owner, at any moment the worker can be out of a job. In the apt

definition of K. Marx, capitalism "is the squanderer of people and of live labor..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 25, Part 1, p 101).

With the victory of the socialist revolution, the nature of labor has changed fundamentally. "For the first time after centuries of labor for others, at forced jobs of the exploiters," wrote V. I. Lenin, "there is an opportunity to work for oneself, with the work based on all the victories of modern technology and culture" (PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 196).

Great October, having eliminated private ownership of the means of production, thereby removed the possibility of the exploitation of man by man and marked the beginning to the development of a new attitude toward labor. V. I. Lenin perceptively saw the buds of this new attitude in the first communist volunteer Saturday workdays. It was apparent in the concern of the rank-and-file workers with increasing labor productivity and for safeguarding every pood of grain, coal, iron and other products provided not to them personally, not to their "near ones" but to all society as a whole and in a new, voluntary and conscious discipline. Lenin urged the "gradual but steady introduction of communist discipline and communist labor" and he profoundly believed that we will reach the victory of communist labor.

The turning of the private property "mine" into the "ours" or common is not a brief act involving the nationalization of the basic means of production but rather an extended and diverse process. Obtaining the right of the owner and the becoming of a true, wise and thrifty owner are far from the same things. It took enormous indoctrinational work by the party for the people to understand their new position as the supreme and unchallenged owner of all social wealth and to recognize the necessity and justice of the socialist principle of distribution "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor." It took time for the people to become vitally interested in attaining higher labor productivity in comparison with capitalism and to develop the economy, science and culture.

The developed socialist society which has been built in our nation is the result of exploitation-free, socialist labor inherent to a majority of the Soviet people and of a collectivist awareness and conduct, where a person is concerned not only with his own labor successes, well being and authority but also the concerns of his work comrades and the interests of the labor collective and all society.

One of the enormously important and indisputable achievements and advantages of socialism has been the fact that it has created conditions which provide each person with the right to labor. This right of obtaining guaranteed employment with wages in accord with its quantity and quality, including the freedom of choosing a profession and the type of employment in accord with one's calling, abilities, professional training, education and considering social needs, has been established by the Basic Law of our nation, the USSR Constitution. Soviet people do not know the terrible social evil of unemployment which is inherent to capitalism.

Chronic unemployment is a constant presence in capitalism and a scourge for the workers. The epidemic of this incurable disease continues to grow. According

to UN data, in 1982, the unemployment level in the developed capitalist nations reached 8 percent. This means that the number of "surplus persons" there has exceeded 30 million. In the U.S. alone, according to official statistics, over the last 5 years the number of unemployed has doubled and reached 12 million persons while, according to the assertion of the American trade unions, considering the unemployed not registered with unemployment and the partially unemployed, their number comprises the truly astronomic figure of 20 million. Among the white youth, one out of five does not have a job while among the negroes, almost one out of two. Some 6.4 million unemployed and their families do not even receive the paltry assistance. Senator Edward Kennedy called the difficult position in which millions of inhabitants of rich America have ended up "a national tragedy and a national disgrace."

In our socialist nation, such a tragedy does not and cannot exist. Due to the planned development of social production and the service sphere, to the high level of capital investments into the national economy and to effective vocational guidance and training of people, the Soviet state ensures full employment for the population capable of working.

In contrast to the labor in a capitalist society, socialist labor has an universal, obligatory nature. Conscientious labor in the chosen area of socially useful activity, according to the USSR Constitution, is an obligation and question of honor for each Soviet citizen capable of working. "Precisely labor," commented the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, "aware, conscientious and enterprising labor for the good of society is recognized by us as the highest measure of the dignity and social prestige of an individual" (KOMMUNIST, No 3, 1983, p 14).

One of the most important particular features of our socialist way of life is that it is a working way of life. The working man is the chief position in the Soviet nation. No other society has raised so high the authority of labor or has given such honor to the people who work unstintingly and creatively. The Communist Party and the Soviet government pay tribute to their skill and labor valor by the honorary title of Hero of Socialist Labor, by orders and medals and by the USSR State Prizes. On the eve of the 65th anniversary of Great October, 293 leaders of the socialist competition, along with prominent scientists, designers, major specialists, literary and artistic figures, received the 1982 USSR State Prizes.

There is a creative nature essential to socialist labor and this makes it possible for the people to disclose their abilities and talents and show initiative. The socialist competition to fulfill and overfulfill the quotas of the third, crucial year of the 11th Five-Year Plan and the five-year plan as a whole has become truly nation-wide. One might give the following examples. The knitting machine operator at the Kiev Production Association imeni Rosa Luxemburg, V. Motsnaya, has assumed the obligation over the 5 years to fulfill 16 annual quotas and has already completed 7. The construction workers on the large-diameter gas line between Urengoy, Pomary and Uzhgorod have promised to put their section into operation significantly ahead of the planned time and are actually doing this. Upon the initiative of collectives from a number of Moscow enterprises, a competition has been initiated to strengthen labor discipline and to improve economy under the motto "Honor and Glory for Labor!"

Scores of millions of people, more than one-half of all the competitors, are participating in the movement for a communist attitude toward labor.

In the competition particularly apparent are such remarkable distinguishing features of socialist labor as comradely cooperation and mutual aid. Many pacesetters, upon their own request and out of the urging of the conscience of patriots, have transferred to the lagging collectives in order to help them get out of their slump. The initiative of the Gorkiy workers "To Work Without Laggards" has been supported in all corners of our nation.

Socialist society establishes a new labor discipline based upon the workers' own awareness of its need, of their role in carrying out the tasks of communist construction and of their responsibility to their comrades, the collective and the state. Its essence, content and basic traits were laid out by V. I. Lenin. He described it as comradely, aware and free discipline. "The communist organization of social labor with the first step toward this being socialism," wrote Lenin in his work "The Great Initiative," "will prevail the more it is based on the free and conscious discipline of the workers themselves..." (PSS, Vol 39, p 14).

The high development level of the socialist national economy, the strong scientific and intellectual potential of society, the system existing in the nation for the ideological, labor and moral indoctrination of the Soviet people create all conditions for developing their communist attitude toward labor. But this is not a simple thing. The share of manual, unproductive labor is still high in industry, construction and agriculture. We still have people who endeavor to take more from society and give it less and live off of unearned income. We still have loafers, shoddy workmen, absentees and obfuscators. Millions of man-hours are lost merely because of absences and time off. At the same time, it has been estimated that the loss of just one work minute on a national scale is the equivalent of losing the results of a day's labor for 200,000 workers.

This is why the party at the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee sharply posed the question of accelerating the economic development rate and the growth of labor productivity, scientific-technical progress, the mechanization and automation of production processes, the improved use of material and labor resources, the strengthening of economy, and the greatest possible improvement of state, labor and executive discipline in all spheres of management, in each production area and at each work place.

Socialist ownership of the means of production in the form of state (national) and kolkhoz-cooperative ownership is the immutable basis of the USSR economic system. We possess a truly colossal production potential. The nation presently has more than 44,600 industrial enterprises, 4,144 production and scientific-production associations in industry, 26,300 kolkhozes and 21,600 sovkhozes. The value of national wealth--the most important indicator for the economic might of our socialist motherland--is presently 3 trillion rubles.

The task is to utilize our possibilities in an economic manner, with the greatest effect, to improve the quality of work, to accelerate its pace, to reduce the cost of producing industrial and agricultural products and increase the volume of retail commodity turnover. The party has focused the Soviet people

on this problem and has found their unanimous support. The struggle for the intensification and efficiency of social labor, for a thrifty attitude toward the public good and the struggle against mismanagement and waste are a powerful reserve for further increasing our economy. A 1 percent increase in labor productivity, for example, at the ferrous metallurgical enterprises would make it possible to turn out an additional 1.4 million tons of steel, 1.1 million tons of iron and 1 million tons of rolled products or hypothetically release 14,500 persons. Such a number of skilled workers would be sufficient to provide the personnel for a large plant with a complete metallurgical cycle.

The enormous achievements of the Soviet people in the development of the economy, science and culture are the material and social base for the nation's high defense capability and for the combat might of the USSR Armed Forces. The close link of the economy with state defense has been pointed out by the founders of Marxism-Leninism. "Nothing so depends upon economic conditions," wrote F. Engels, "as precisely the Army and Navy" (K. Marks and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 20, p 171). A war is the testing of all the economic and organizational forces of each nation, V. I. Lenin pointed out. Our people were convinced of this from the experience of the wars forced on them by the enemies. During the years of the Great Patriotic War, due to utilizing the advantages of the Soviet social and state system, the socialist economic system and unstinting labor, the people succeeded under difficult conditions of providing the superiority of our army in weapons and equipment over the combat equipment of the Nazi invaders. This was one of the most important conditions for the defeating of the enemy and for the achieving of victory.

At present, all the Armed Services and branches of troops are equipped with the most modern weapons and up-to-date equipment. "The Politburo has considered and does consider the providing of everything necessary to the Army and Navy as an essential matter, particularly under the present-day international conditions," stated Comrade Yu. V. Andropov from the rostrum of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The party's paternal concern has inspired the defenders of the motherland to zealous military service and the exemplary fulfillment of military duty.

2. The Importance and Particular Features of the Military Labor of Soviet Military Personnel

Military labor is a portion of the socially necessary labor of all our people. It is just as essential to the nation as the labor of a worker, a kolkhoz member or member of the intelligentsia, and is also a matter of glory, valor and heroism. The labor related to defending socialist victories, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our state on a social level is to a high degree a useful activity vitally essential to all Soviet society. The daily labor of the Soviet military ensures the conditions for peaceful and confident communist construction.

Both the creative labor of the people and the labor of the military serve the single common cause of further strengthening our motherland's might, consolidating its positions and authority on the international scene and strengthening the friendship and solidarity with the peoples and armies of the fraternal socialist countries. According to the Soviet Constitution, for us military service is an

honorable duty for all Soviet citizens and the defense of the socialist fatherland is a concern of all the people.

Like productive labor, inherent to military labor is a creative, aware nature and a rational, scientific organization. An awareness of its necessity and importance for the nation brings moral satisfaction to the soldiers. Being predominantly mechanized and automated, military labor requires not only physical strength but also high intelligence, sound professional training, great mental work and conscious discipline.

At the same time, military labor also has its specific features as it involves the harsh conditions of service, definite hardships and numerous difficulties and at times entails danger and risk. In a combat situation, under critical circumstances, the men must shed blood and not spare even their own life for the sake of carrying out the set task and achieving victory. "The vicissitudes of war," pointed out V. I. Lenin, "include danger. In a war there is not a single minute when you are not surrounded by danger" (PSS, Vol 44, p 210). Along with military skill and discipline the serviceman must also show iron steadfastness, strong will power, courage, bravery, valor and other high moral-combat qualities.

In its social sense, the labor of the Soviet military is different, like black and white, from the labor of the servicemen in the capitalist states. In a bourgeois society, the army protects the interests of the ruling class. Let us remember our history. Quite often the bourgeoisie used the army for the predatory undertaking of seizing foreign territories, enslaving entire peoples, winning markets and for the armed suppression of the workers in their own country. Even now its imperialist essence has remained unchanged and the army is an obedient weapon of monopolistic capital. Convincing proof of this is the dirty U.S. war in Vietnam and the military bases and contingents of American troops and naval forces scattered over the entire world for the so-called "defense of the vital interests" of the monopolistic magnates. Proof of this is the recent colonial war by England for the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands and the aggressive Israeli actions against the Arab peoples with the greatest possible U.S. support....

The Soviet soldier, if he does enter the territory of foreign states, does so only with the noble mission of defeating the aggressor, liberating the peoples, providing them with fraternal aid and carrying out his international duty. The Soviet Army and Navy are a dependable bulwark of our state in consistently carrying out the Leninist peace-loving foreign policy, a force restraining the dangerous intentions of the supporters of military adventures. "We are well aware that one does not request peace from the imperialists," said Comrade Yu. V. Andropov. "It can only be defended relying on the uncrushable might of the Soviet Armed Forces."

Military labor includes all the diverse and purposeful activities of the personnel, including: military and political training, alert duty, exercises, training and drills and the standing of guard, garrison and internal duty. Modern weapons and equipment which embody the most recent achievements of scientific and technical thought on a physical level have made military labor easier but at the same time have also made it more complex and intense. The collective nature

of military labor has further increased and at the same time its specialization has risen. For instance, while in World War I there were around 20 military specialties, at present there are almost 2,000 of them. Certainly previously the successful actions of the men in combat were also interrelated and mutually determined. But at present both the diversity, the importance and the price of these ties are in no way comparable with the previous ones. For example, in order to destroy a modern air, ground, underwater or surface carrier of nuclear weapons, coordinated and precise actions are required from scores of different specialists. Insufficient training or a mistake by just one of them, be he a radio operator, a signal corps man, a plotting board operator or an electrician or any of the other numerous operators of a missile complex, can nullify the efforts of all.

Military labor, like any labor, has an end result. In peacetime this is accumulated in high combat readiness of a subunit, unit or ship and in a war, in the skillful fulfillment of the combat tasks and in the decisive defeat of the enemy under any conditions.

Here the group leader should again remind the listeners of the feverish military preparations by imperialism and that the threat of war and the threat of aggression are a harsh reality of our times. This requires doubled, trebled vigilance and unceasing daily work on improving combat readiness. The combat readiness of a unit or ship is formed out of the all-round readiness of each serviceman for combat and is forged every day and every hour in exercises, drills, training and alert duty. "Each serviceman," pointed out the USSR Minister of Defense Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, "should constantly ask himself: how today has he carried out his duty and the military oath which he has taken and whether or not he has done everything to increase combat readiness?"

There is only one path to high combat skill and ability and this is steady, conscientious military labor. The man who is all words and assurance but in fact has a poor knowledge of the weapons and equipment assigned to him, who scarcely can keep within the combat standards and is morally, psychologically and physically little prepared will not win much. This is why the soldiers and sailors who, in actively participating in the socialist competition under the motto "To Increase Vigilance and Firmly Ensure the Security of the Motherland!" who work at full strength and study military affairs, as the great Lenin admonished, effectively, are worthy of respect and praise. Here one should give examples of zealous service by the men who are first-rate specialists and outstanding men in military and political training and show using specific facts what the importance of their skill and combat abilities are for the combat readiness of the subunit, the unit and ship.

Effective military labor is inconceivable without high organization and order and strong conscious discipline. One of its specific features is that it is strictly regulated by the requirements of the military laws and regulations, by the military oath, by the instructions and manuals and by the orders of the commanders and superiors. It is impossible to count on success in service without scrupulous efficiency which has become a habit, part of one's flesh and blood. To participate in the struggle for strengthening military discipline and to give it a greater content means day by day to develop in oneself the need and

ability to carry out all official duties, orders and instructions in an exemplary manner and by word and deed to help comrades acquire these qualities.

The results of military labor depend largely upon troop comradeship, true friendship and mutual aid. The moral principal "Perish Yourself, But Help a Comrade," has been tested out in fierce battles and has become a noteworthy tradition of the Soviet military. The propagandist must tell about those soldiers and sailors who strictly follow the laws of military fraternity and propose to the students that they give some thought in preparing for the discussion about what role was played by comrades and the military collective in their combat development.

The indoctrinational role of military labor is great. Precisely in daily training and service, in manifesting zeal and tenacity, in working to equal the experts of military affairs and in steadily overcoming difficulties, a soldier acquires professional knowledge, skills, dexterity and the ability to act intelligently and decisively in combat, to control his conduct, to suppress a feeling of fear and to boldly face danger.

The party, the government and the Soviet people very highly regard the difficult labor of the defenders of the motherland. In our nation the military man is surrounded with affection and respect. His loyalty to duty and his military valor have been embodied in thousands of monuments and extolled in the best literary and artistic works. The state has shown truly paternal concern for the war veterans. At present, the 40th anniversary of the major battles of the Great Patriotic War is now being widely celebrated. This is also a tribute of national recognition to the soldier's labor and to the soldier's feat. This is also a moral example to the present generation of military on how one must protect and defend the honor, liberty and independence of the socialist fatherland.

3. To Protect Public Socialist Property and Military Property

Soviet power was just taking its first steps when V. I. Lenin in an appeal to the workers wrote: "Safeguard, protect like the apple of your eye, the land, grain, factories, weapons, food products and transport--all that from now on will be completely your national property" (PSS, Vol 35, p 67). The party and people have constantly followed Lenin's legacy. The strictest economy and thriftiness have always been and remain a fixed principle in the socialist way of life and a most important condition for national economic development and for increasing the prosperity of the Soviet people. It is the constitutional duty of the Soviet citizen to protect and strengthen socialist property, to fight against embezzlement and waste of state and public property and to show a thrifty attitude toward the public good. The struggle for economy and thriftiness has now become a national cause and the Army and Navy personnel is taking an active part in this.

The leader must remind the students that the weapons and equipment and the numerous military supplies which comprise the material basis for the might of the Armed Forces are state property. The creative thought and great labor of scientists, engineers and workers and much money have been invested in their development and production. The Internal Service Regulations and Disciplinary

Regulations oblige the serviceman to protect the weapons, military and other equipment, the military and public property assigned to him. A serviceman must report up the line of command or inform a senior chief in writing of instances noted by him of embezzlement or spoilage of military property, the illegal use of money, abuses in troop supply and shortcomings in the condition of equipment as well as other instances which cause harm to the Armed Forces.

In the process of military labor and service, each serviceman is presented with broad opportunities for saving socialist property. This involves intelligent operation and the extending of periods between repair for weapons and equipment, prompt maintenance, the keeping of them in proper working order, the rational and economic consumption of motor life, fuels and lubricants, electric power and water, the saving of supplies, clothing, training materials and much else. Numerous valuable materials have been saved in the units, ships and subunits where all the personnel takes an active part in the struggle for economy and thriftiness. Thus, the men in the airfield technical maintenance battalion under the command of Lt Col V. Manyushkin last year saved 15 tons of mazut, 31 tons of solid fuel, 2.5 tons of gasoline, 9.2 tons of diesel fuel and 30,000 kilowatt hours of electric power.

In many units the operating lives of combat equipment have been extended by developing the skills and abilities of the personnel on trainers and due to the involvement of the men in the competition for the expert driving of combat vehicles and the hitting of targets with the first round.

Particular responsibility for protecting military property and the public good has been entrusted to the men who are on duty guarding dumps, storage areas, airfields, missile complexes, and freight transported on various types of transport. It is important that each of them is profoundly aware that the standing of guard duty is the carrying out of a combat task and that the safe-keeping of great valuables depends upon his vigilance.

The personnel of the military construction units, the railroad troops as well as the men of the subunits involved in harvesting and providing aid to the public with natural disasters also have broad opportunities for protecting the people's wealth. The mastery of advanced work methods and advanced production methods by the soldiers, the most rational use of construction equipment, motor transport and construction materials, the careful preparation of the vehicles for transporting grain and other agricultural products, bold and decisive actions during floods, fires and other disasters make it possible to save significant amounts of money and materials for the state.

It is essential to particularly point out the role of the communists and Komsomol members and the men elected to people's control posts and groups to the editorial staff of the "Komsomol Searchlight," the radio news and wall newspapers in intensifying the struggle for savings and thriftiness. Precisely they should explain to their fellow servicemen that light bulbs left to burn uselessly during the day on the territory of the military compound, leaking water taps and particularly malfunctions in the engine fuel supply and lubricating systems are money thrown out the window. They must also show what it costs to have the breaking of expensive equipment due to the inattentiveness or

negligence of the man operating it. But the main thing is to prevent or exclude such instances of the squandering of materials. Inadmissible are such instances when, for example, due to the inattentiveness of a sailor on a watch an important assembly fails and the ship must return to base without carrying out the task and having wasted motor life and hundreds of tons of fuel.

The propagandist must focus the students' attention on the fact that the Soviet laws provide strict punishment for the squanderers of public wealth. Regular servicemen who are guilty of causing harm to the state, depending upon the specific circumstances, can be held liable under disciplinary or criminal proceedings. In the event of being condemned for crimes causing harm to the state, they must repay the full amount. For greater convincingness it is advisable to read the corresponding articles of the Law Governing Criminal Liability for Military Crimes ("Osnovy pravovykh znaniy" [Fundamentals of Legal Knowledge], Voenizdat, 1973).

Thriftiness is a communist trait and the military collectives, that is, the soldiers and sailors themselves, must participate in developing this in each man along with the commanders, the political workers, the party and Komsomol organizations. Certainly we save for the sake of the most precious thing, the might of the motherland and a better life for the people.

In concluding the lecture, it is essential to remind the students of the tasks confronting the subunit during the summer training period as well as the socialist obligations assumed by them and urge them to work at full strength and energy.

During the hours of independent study, it is recommended that the students study the works of V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative" (PSS, Vol 39, pp 5-6, 18-29), "To the Population" (PSS, Vol 35, pp 65-67); the CPSU Program (pp 110-112); the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) (Articles 10-18, 31, 32, 40, 60-63); "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress] (pp 39, 45, 75-78, 83); the speech of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yu. V. Andropov at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on 22 November 1982 (PRAVDA, 23 November 1982); the report of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, "Sixty Years of the USSR" (Politizdat, 1982, pp 10, 14, 16); the speech of the USSR Minister of Defense Mar SU D. F. Ustinov at a meeting of the party aktiv from the Order of Lenin Moscow Military District (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 7 December 1982); the textbook for political exercises "Na strazhe Rodiny" [On Guard for the Motherland] (Voenizdat, 1978, pp 156-158).

In the course of the discussion it is advisable to discuss the questions:

1. What is the role of conscious, conscientious labor in strengthening the economic and defense might of the motherland?
2. What is the communist attitude toward labor and socialist property?
3. What is the importance of the military labor of the Soviet military personnel?
4. What are the ways for achieving military skill and high combat readiness?
5. What opportunities do the servicemen possess for saving public socialist property and military property?

Literature for Propagandists

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3. V. I. Lenin, "From the First Saturday Volunteer Workday on the Moscow-Kazan Railroad to the All-Russian Volunteer Saturday Workdays in May," PSS, Vol 41, pp 107-109.
4. "Programma KPSS" [CPSU Program], pp 110-112.
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6. Yu. V. Andropov, "Rech' na Plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 22 noyabrya 1982 g." [Speech at a Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on 22 November 1982], Moscow, Politizdat, 1982.
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9. D. F. Ustinov, "Sluzhim Rodine, delu kommunizma" [We Serve the Motherland, the Cause of Communism], Voenizdat, 1982, pp 83-94, 101-110.

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COMMENTARY ON 'REALISM' (USSR) VS 'ADVENTURISM' (U.S.)

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 8, Apr 83 (signed to press 4 Apr 83) pp 78-82

[Article by O. Selyaninov: "The Policy of Realism Vs a Course of Adventurism"]

[Text] The past months of the current year of 1983 have been characterized by an extremely complicated international situation.

At the same time, against its background one can evermore clearly see the contrast in the readings of the sociopolitical barometers in the states of the opposing social systems and the difference in the approach to solving vitally important problems for mankind.

The Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, in successfully carrying out the plans of their Marxist-Leninist parties, are continuing to move steadily along the path of building socialism and communism. Their fruitful all-round collaboration has contributed to the on-going growth of the economic, scientific-technical potential of real socialism, to strengthening collective defense might and to raising the prosperity of the working people. "All the plans of the commonwealth of socialist states," as was emphasized at the November (1982) Plenum of our party's Central Committee, "are plans of peace and creation. We are working to make comradely collaboration and socialist mutual aid among the fraternal nations even deeper and more effective."

The state of affairs is different in the capitalist world. Each day brings ever-new proof that the capitalist system is unable to provide its peoples with anything except the predatory squandering of the productive forces, the merciless exploitation of the broad working masses and the deteriorating of their economic situation. Ever deeper are the crisis jolts which intensify the irreconcilable contradictions of capitalism. The more acute these contradictions are, the more unreasonable and adventuristic the foreign policy of the imperialist powers becomes.

The foreign policy of the U.S. ruling circles has caused particular concern for the fate of the world. The current U.S. administration, as Comrade Yu. V. Andropov pointed out, in replying to questions of a PRAVDA correspondent in March of the current year, continues to follow an extremely dangerous path. The outright claims to world domination, brazen interference into the affairs of other states and peoples, encouraging the bloody misdeeds of the Israeli

aggressors, support for dictatorial, racist regimes, the organizing of subversive actions against the socialist countries, the concentrating of naval vessels and the interventionist rapid deployment forces in various regions of the world under the false pretext of protecting U.S. "vital interests," total espionage and political terror--here is a far from complete "bill of goods" with which American imperialism began the current year.

The rulers of the U.S. military industrial complex have initiated an unprecedented program for increasing the modernizing strategic weapons, including missile systems, bomber aviation and nuclear submarines and they have accelerated production of the neutron bombs, binary chemical charges as well as conventional weapons. Expenditures on military purposes over the next 5 years already run not into the millions and not even the billions, but rather trillions of dollars.

At the same time, Washington has imposed on its NATO partners an expensive program of rearmament and the deploying of medium-range American nuclear missiles on their territory, endeavoring to turn Western Europe into a pawn in the adventurist Pentagon strategy. This is being done under the absurd pretext of eliminating the mythical "window of vulnerability" in the Western defenses. In fact, it is a question of altering the approximate military-strategic equilibrium between the USSR and the United States, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, in favor of the imperialist powers. The U.S. plans to make the first nuclear strike entail an extraordinary danger for the adventurist American policy.

In the postwar years, the turgid waves of the Cold War have repeatedly reached critical levels. But by the common efforts of the peace-loving peoples and the anti-imperialist forces, it has been possible to check their onslaught. Here a particular contribution has been made by the Leninist peace-loving foreign policy which has been consistently and effectively carried out by the Soviet Union and all the socialist commonwealth countries.

The struggle against war and for the triumph of peace between peoples is an inseparable part of the proletariat's revolutionary struggle. V. I. Lenin demanded that Soviet diplomacy constantly work to preserve peace. "...We promise the workers and peasants to do everything for peace. And we are doing this," said Lenin (PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 343).

The CPSU has been constantly loyal to this legacy. Ensuring favorable external conditions for the creative labor of our people and for the development of the world socialist system and the freeing of mankind from the threat of a world-wide conflagration are the most important goal of CPSU foreign policy. The Soviet people have inseparably linked their understanding of a just peace with the name of V. I. Lenin who brought together the theory of scientific communism with foreign policy practices.

Policy is a science and an art, emphasized V. I. Lenin. It requires a profound knowledge of the laws of social development, their class understanding, a precise, objective analysis of the balance of forces and a strict consideration of the real factors which have or can have an impact on the solving of both domestic and international problems.

Precisely such an approach has made it possible and does make it possible for our party--the tested vanguard of the Soviet people--to set the foreign policy tasks, to outline the ways for achieving them and foresee the results. A loyalty to Lenin's legacy, consistency, dynamicness, purposefulness, profound internationalism, an understanding and support by the broad masses of people throughout the world--these are the characteristic traits of Soviet foreign policy which have constantly ensured its success.

During the first years after October, the young Soviet state withstood the onslaught of imperialist forces under conditions when, in the words of V. I. Lenin, it was "immeasurably weaker than all other states in economic, political and military terms" (PSS, Vol 44, p 294). And the most important guarantee for this was the fact that the Communist Party knew and correctly assessed those contradictions which ensnared the capitalist world evermore deeply.

In subsequent years, the Soviet Union was able to repeatedly thwart the plans of the imperialist reaction, ensuring conditions for the peaceful, socialist development of the nation. In emerging as the victor from the harsh testing in the years of the Great Patriotic War, the USSR as a result of postwar development, not only grew stronger politically but also greatly increased its economic and defense might. This has served as a most important factor for strengthening the positions of real socialism as a whole. The socialist commonwealth presently possesses the economic, political, ideological and military means organized no longer on a national but also an international scale, ensuring its steady development and making it possible to decisively check any imperialist intrigues.

The most realistically thinking political and state leaders in the capitalist countries could not help but consider this. They have been confronted with the need to seek out a new political basis in their relations with the socialist world and recognize that a path of peaceful coexistence, as has been steadily defended by the Soviet Union and all the nations of the socialist commonwealth, is the only possible one for this.

Regardless of the resistance from the reaction, in the 1960's agreements were concluded aimed at restraining the arms race, and primarily nuclear arms. Among the agreements a special place is held by the treaties banning nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere, outer space and under the water, on the principles for the activities of states in studying and using outer space as well as on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

The 1970's were also marked by a series of major agreements. Of greatest importance for the development of the process of detente was the Helsinki Final Act of the European conference and this was an unique code of relations between the member countries and yet another example of the effectiveness of the principles of peaceful coexistence. As a result of the actions of Soviet diplomacy, it was possible to create a system of talks on disarmament questions both on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

The process of political detente which filled virtually all the 1970's instilled confidence in the possibility of settling the most complex international problems. However, cold winds began to blow out of Washington. Thus, the

United States refused to ratify the Soviet-American treaty on limiting the underground testing of nuclear weapons and the treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Even during the administration of President Carter who in 1979 signed the Soviet-American Treaty on Limiting Strategic Offensive Weapons (SALT-2) obstacles began to be put up to its ratification. In U.S. policy, particularly after the change of personnel in the White House, an abrupt turn occurred from detente to confrontation and this caused an exacerbation of the entire international situation.

Of course, it would be erroneous to explain this merely by the personal qualities of those who stood at the helm of the U.S. ship of state, although the subjective factor must not be discarded. But in policy, said V. I. Lenin, it is not so important who is defending various views as it is to whom these views are advantageous. The current American administration expresses the interests of the upper financial bigwigs and the military-industrial monopolies. The rapid development of military equipment, the modernizing of the nuclear weapons delivery systems, the appearance of new classes of submarines, the establishing of the production of binary weapons and much else have entailed new profits and superprofits for the military industrial complex. Detente dashed these hopes. The U.S. administration sought a pretext for altering course. And the propaganda machine went to work. The fanciful myth of a "Soviet threat" was born. It was asserted that detente supposedly was a one-way street and ostensibly involved only one-sided advantages for the Soviet Union. At the same time practical steps were undertaken to intensify confrontation.

President Reagan actually tabled the question of ratifying the SALT-2 Treaty. At the same time he proclaimed a so-called "recovery program" for the nation's economy. In actuality this program was nothing more than the redistributing of budget funds in favor of the military monopolies; it provided colossal expenditures on weapons by attacking the social needs of the broad masses of people.

In accelerating the arms race, Washington has been hoping not only to achieve military superiority over the USSR but also that the need to maintain the combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces on a proper level would thwart the fulfillment of the creative plans outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress.

Those who construct such plans are like political blindmen who do not see or who do not want to see the changes in the world and those enormous potential opportunities which real socialism possesses. The Soviet Union alone produces one-fifth of the world's industrial product. The CEMA nations as a whole over the 30 years that this organization has existed have increased their national income by 9.5-fold and this exceeds by 2.4-fold the same indicator for the developed capitalist states. The socialist nations are steadily fulfilling their national economic plans.

The arms race is bringing the capitalist world to harsh consequences. "Reaganomics," as the economic policy of President Reagan has been called, has ended up for the United States itself by intensifying the economic disproportions. Instead of the promised growth there has been a sharp decline in production accompanied by inflation. There has even appeared the term "stagflation" which is stagnation plus inflation. The number of fully unemployed in the

United States, according to official data, is approaching 12 million. But in some states unemployment is 15 or even 20 percent.

"Reaganomics" has disappointed even those business circles which initially supported it. The number of bankruptcies has reached an unprecedented amount since the time of the "Great Depression" in the 1930's, with some 15,000 a year. In the nation more than 30 million persons live under conditions below the official poverty line. Externally "Reaganomics" has led to an intensification of contradictions in the capitalist world.

For some time they have been speaking about serious friction in NATO. The high point of the postwar U.S. leadership in the capitalist world is over. The former vassals have become serious competitors. A constant economic war is presently being waged between them and Washington. The share of American goods has declined not only on foreign markets but also in the United States itself, where evermore foreign-produced goods are appearing, particularly Japanese and Western European. Washington is endeavoring to check this process by various economic barriers and financial tricks, particularly in the area of credit policy. It is hoped that the expensive rearmament program imposed on America's NATO allies will also make it possible to significantly reduce their competitiveness.

Crisis phenomena have long beset the economy of the capitalist nations on this side of the Atlantic. The policy of the arms race has further intensified these. A drop in production, galloping inflation, a sharp deterioration in the standard of living for the masses of people, increased unemployment and an increased number of bankruptcies are its lamentable result.

All of this has led to a situation where, regardless of the demonstrations of unity carried out by the propaganda machine, clearly uncoordinated positions and at times differences have often appeared between the United States and its NATO partners. Here we should remember the rebuff which the Western European countries dealt Washington over its attempts to impede the carrying out agreements with the Soviet Union to build a gas line and to supply Soviet natural gas.

The preemptory shouting, the pressure and the ordering tone with which Washington more and more speaks to its partners who have shown "recalcitrance" has aroused in them completely justified dissatisfaction. "In Europe there is a widespread fear," commented the PHILADELPHIA ENQUIRER, "that the clumsy American leadership can destroy the peace and flourishing which detente provided." The American-European differences, wrote the newspaper WALL STREET JOURNAL in August 1982, "are deeper, more numerous and harmful for mutual trust which ultimately determines the very existence of the Western Alliance." The same newspaper was forced to admit that detente is alive in Western Europe and that trade with the East is vitally essential to it from the economic viewpoint, particularly under the conditions of the present economic decline.

Thus, experience again confirms the tenet of V. I. Lenin that in an imperialist society there are work two trends: one which makes an alliance of all imperialists inevitable and the other which puts some imperialists in opposition to others" (PSS, Vol 36, p 332).

But the contradictions existing between the United States and its allies in no way reduce the military danger hanging over the world and they do not alter the aggressive NATO course as a whole. This course is still continuing to serve as a major impediment on the path of a positive resolution to many important problems.

The bourgeois press has been forced to admit that the preserving of the "stability of European political systems" has been threatened by the growing wave of protest growing out of the policy of the West's ruling circles for an arms race and its consequences. In actuality, history knows no examples of such broad-scaled and diverse antiwar actions of the masses as are reported daily by the press, radio and television.

"From one end of NATO to the other, from England in the North Atlantic to Greece in the southern part of the Mediterranean, angry crowds have organized protest demonstrations against the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe. Moreover, these crowds are beginning to doubt the wisdom of an alliance which has made Europe dependent upon American nuclear defense," stated the American newspaper *NEWSDAY* and pointed out that the demonstrators have called for withdrawal from NATO and on banners have written: "Peace according to Reagan is our death." The people have demanded specific actions, the abandoning of the dangerous policy of the arms race and the shifting of money to peaceful purposes and to satisfying social needs.

During the current year, U.S. militant imperialism operated under the flag of a "crusade against communism" and more specifically against real socialism. Evidently in the White House they consider that since the flames of the two last world wars did not reach the American continent, they would not in the future. A dangerous miscalculation! The threat of a nuclear conflict involves everyone and it is the task of each person who values peace to prevent the possibility of turning this threat into a reality. For this reason one can understand the support which has been encountered among the broad world community and from sober-minded political leaders for the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist commonwealth countries.

These initiatives develop and continue the provisions of the Peace Program for the 1980's as adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress.

There has also been broad support for the initiatives which the Soviet Union made since the 26th CPSU Congress. These are the declaration adopted by the UN General Assembly and containing a strong warning to those who would be the first to use nuclear weapons, the resolution demanding the banning of neutron weapons and a resolution urging all states to refrain from producing the deploying new types of chemical weapons. The Soviet initiative aimed against the use of space for military purposes was also met with approval. The Soviet delegation submitted for UN review a proposal on the immediate halting and banning of nuclear weapons testing and in addition submitted the basic provisions of a treaty for a complete and universal ban on nuclear weapons testing.

In being in favor of convening a conference on measures to build trust and for disarmament in Europe, the Soviet Union has stated that the leading bodies of NATO and the Warsaw Pact should come out with statements on the nonproliferation

of the sphere of action of the two military-political groupings into Asia, Africa and Latin America. The unilaterally adopted Soviet obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons had an enormous impact throughout the world.

The Soviet Union has given great importance to achieving an agreement with the United States on limiting and reducing strategic weapons. In particular, it has proposed a freeze on the existing strategic weapons at the present level and then their reduction by approximately 25 percent on each side, bringing them down to even levels, after which they would move on to a further reduction. Understandably, an immutable basis of agreement can only be the principle of equality and equal security. However, the United States, as can be seen, is searching only for one-sided advantages and this cannot lead to a positive result.

The increasing of the nuclear weapons stockpiles in Europe by the NATO countries is a particular threat to the cause of peace. Here in Europe a world-wide conflagration has broken out twice. Any new spark could cause a world-wide explosion. In endeavoring to prevent the dangerous development of events, the Soviet Union has proposed either to agree on the abandoning of all types of nuclear weapons designed to hit targets in Europe (both medium-range as well as tactical) or to have the Soviet Union and the NATO countries reduce their medium-range weapons by more than two-thirds. But these clear and concrete measures are also not to the liking of Washington. There they have insisted on the so-called "zero option" which means nothing else than the unilateral disarmament of the USSR. Clearly such a position cannot serve as a realistic basis for serious talks.

In endeavoring to put the talks with the United States on firm ground, the Soviet Union has made new initiatives which are aimed at achieving agreement on a basis which is just to both sides. "We are prepared, in particular," stated Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, "to accept that the Soviet Union maintains in Europe only as many missiles as England and France have, and not one more.... As for the USSR and the United States, for medium-range missiles, this would actually be an honest 'zero option.' But if the number of English and French missiles in the future declined, the number of Soviet ones would additionally be reduced by the same number.

"Along with this an agreement should also be reached to reducing to equal levels for both sides the number of aircraft capable of carrying medium-range nuclear weapons and maintained in the given region both by the USSR and the NATO countries."

The Soviet Union, like the other socialist commonwealth countries, is actively searching for solutions which would strengthen peace and contribute to the ensuring of universal security. A new expression of this was the Political Declaration adopted in Prague by the Warsaw Pact member nations. One of the central points of the declaration was a proposal that a treaty on reciprocal nonemployment of military force and the maintaining of peaceful relations be concluded between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member countries. The sides to such a treaty would agree not to be the first to use military force generally against one another. Moreover, the treaty could make provision for obligations

by its signatories not to employ force against third countries and this would actually give it, as is rightly seen by the world community, the nature of a universal means for preserving peace and ensuring universal security.

With each passing day mankind is persuaded that socialism and the forces fighting against imperialism and for social and national liberation at present are determining the main content, the main direction and the main particular features of historical development. The time is over when imperialism has ruled unchecked in the world. This is already an irrefutable reality which must be considered. At present, the fatal inevitability of world war no longer exists. This is a conclusion which has been reached by the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. This conclusion has also been confirmed by life. For almost four decades now the flames of a world-wide conflagration have not broken out on our planet. The most tragic cycle of the repetition of wars has been broken. Moreover, it is becoming evermore apparent that under certain conditions it would be possible to move to a reorganization of the entire system of international relations capable of minimizing the risk of the outbreak of a world conflict. And not only a world one, but also a local one.

However, futility and class doom could push the imperialists to extreme measures, jeopardizing the vital interests of mankind. Bourgeois governments in the past have repeatedly rushed into the most absurd and senseless adventures and these could be explained by nothing more than the desperation and futility of their situation, pointed out V. I. Lenin. He urged for us to always be prepared for this and to constantly strengthen national defense.

The excluding of the fatal inevitability of a world war in and of itself does not eliminate the possibility of its outbreak. The same practices of world development have confirmed that peace is not something given from on high. It can only be the result of the steady struggle against those forces which are pushing the world toward the abyss. "We are well aware that one does not request peace from the imperialists," emphasized Comrade Yu. V. Andropov. "It can be defended only relying on the invincible might of the Soviet Armed Forces." Yu. V. Andropov stated that if it reached the point of deploying new American missiles in Europe, then we would reply to this properly. But this would not be our choice.

Our choice would be to do everything to continue the process of detente in order to bring the world from under the threat of a nuclear war and to establish the bases for sound peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation between all states and peoples. All the steps on the international scene undertaken by the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries are aimed at this noble, humane goal.

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